

Zündel, S' Gotta Go!



Germans charge Zundel with libel, slander

THE TORONTO STAR Monday, March 25, 1991 A13

MUNICH, GERMANY

Arrest absurd, Zundel says

ERNST ZUNDEL (CP) — Toronto publisher Ernst Zundel says he was merely arrested in Germany, not intended to "spur" his lawyer, claim friends. Zundel was arrested Friday while visiting a friend in Munich. He claims he is a victim of neo-Nazi "international bigots." An attorney said he had no connection with an anti-Semitic newspaper in Spain. Upon his arrest at a friend's home, Zundel was serving a stay-in order from a Munich court. His lawyer, Michael Schaefer, said a court official informed Zundel was arrested in connection with an anti-Semitic newspaper that had been distributed in Germany for several years. Schaefer said a court official informed

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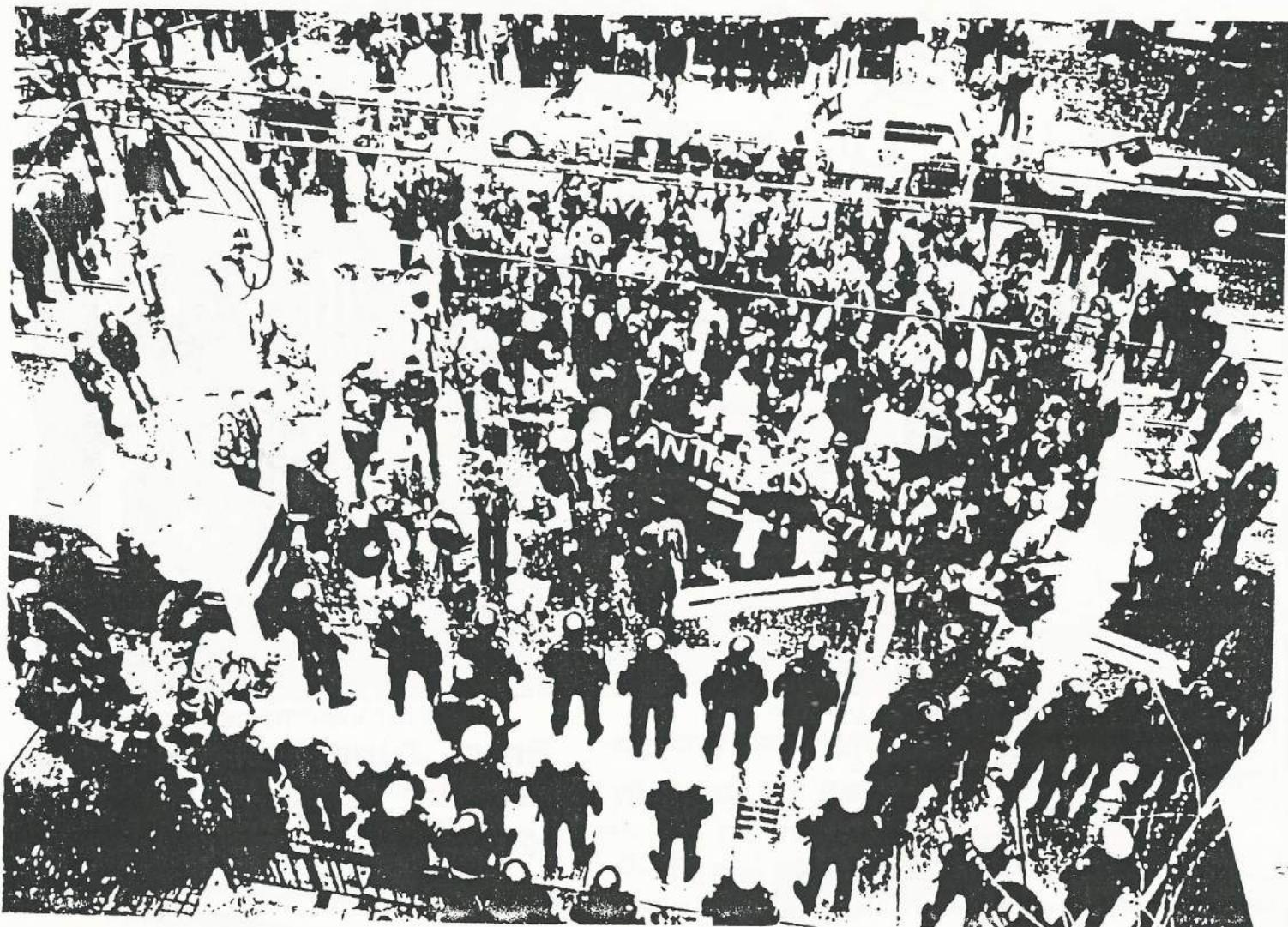
KEN FAUGHT/TORONTO STAR

UNDER WRAPS: Ernst Zundel's home was draped in plastic last night in anticipation of an attack by anti-racists. **POLICE OFFICER WARNS ZUNDEL** that he may soon be charged with improper use of a condom.

KEN FAUGHT/TORONTO STAR
UNDER WRAPS: Ernst Zundel's home was draped in plastic last night in anticipation of an attack by anti-racists.

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SHUT DOWN ERNST ZUNDEL!

The Trials and Tribulations of a Nazi Holocaust Denier



"In March 1981, West German police carried out a massive door-to-door raid in an effort to clamp down on the distribution of Neo-Nazi literature in that country. What was significant for Canada was that a good deal of the literature had been produced by a Canadian resident, Ernst Christof Friedrich Zundel"

-Stanley R. Barrett, *Is God A Racist?*

WHO IS ERNST ZUNDEL?

Born in 1939 in the Black Forest region of West Germany, Ernst Zundel was raised on his family's farm. His sister became a missionary in Africa, and his brother a lawyer in the United States. Zundel attended a trade school in Germany, receiving a diploma as a photo retoucher (a trade which would serve him well in his role later as a Holocaust denier). In 1958, at the age of 18, Zundel emigrated to Canada. He settled first in Toronto, then in Montreal for several years, eventually returning to Toronto, which remains his base of operations to this day. Zundel was married for nine years, and has two sons.

While in Montreal, Zundel supposedly met Adrien Arcand, the former leader of the National Socialist Christian Party, which had been founded in 1934 and was the main fascist organization in Canada during that period. Arcand significantly changed Zundel's little pea-brain view about the role and history of Nazi Germany. In 1968, Zundel ran for the Liberal leadership, contending that Trudeau was a "communist"(!). Zundel's involvement in fascist circles became more focused as his major efforts became devoted to proving that the Holocaust was a hoax.

TRIALS AND TRIBULATIONS

Through his *Samizdat Publications* ('samizdat' is a Russian word meaning self-publishing), Zundel produced anti-Holocaust material to perpetuate the notion that the Holocaust was a fabricated aspect of a "Jewish conspiracy to rule the world", a common anti-Semitic doctrine. By 1980, Zundel claimed to mail his anti-Holocaust and other fascist materials to 45,000 people in forty-five countries and in fourteen languages (*Toronto Sun*, 23 November, 1981). His estimated mailing costs in 1981 were \$35,000.

However, the scale of his activities did not go unnoticed. Political pressure from those who were able to see his true agenda brought his case to light and exposed him for what he was. Following a large demonstration held outside his house in May, 1981, the post office's Board of Review, prompted by a complaint lodged by the Canadian Holocaust Remembrance Association,

issued an interim prohibitory order against *Samizdat Publications Ltd.* The Board of Review later found Zundel not guilty of promoting anti-semitism, and described the complaint as an ethnic quarrel between Germans and Jews. During this case, Zundel had been defended by the Canadian Civil Liberties Association, a group which would also come to his aid in later trials. Shortly after, Zundel was also found innocent by a West German court of disseminating hate propaganda in connection with the materials uncovered by the 1981 police raid. An example of how far Zundel is willing to go to insult Jewish people is shown in his attempt to (unsuccessfully) have a paid advertisement placed in *The Canadian Jewish News*, to "inform his Jewish clients about the good news" (he also applied in April/81 to the Canadian Jewish Congress for the advertised position of director for the National Holocaust Project).

After losing the case involving the post office's Board of Review, the Canadian Holocaust Remembrance Association continued its' struggle to close Zundel down. Using an obscure and seldom-used law, Zundel was charged with two counts of knowingly publishing false news that caused or was likely to cause damage to social or racial tolerance. The two articles subjected to the charges were '*The West, War and Islam*' and '*Did Six Million Really Die?*', the latter a widely-distributed pamphlet throughout the extreme right both nationally and internationally.

The trial that followed has been described as having a "near farcical, almost incredulous, air." One witness included a senior vice-president of the Royal Bank of Canada, who testified that his bank had no involvement in any way with international communism. The Zundel defense, headed by Doug Christie- a notorious fascist lawyer from Victoria who has defended other members of the extreme right including Holocaust denier Jim Keegstra, as well as Tony McAleer of the Canadian Liberty Net- requested to have Jews and Freemasons excluded as jurors, unsuccessfully. Two witnesses were survivors of Nazi concentration camps, where some 11 million people were exterminated, including six million Jews, Gays, Lesbians, anti-fascists, communists and socialists, and others. One, who had escaped from Auschwitz, testified he saw mass gassing of Jews. Doug Christie accused him of lying in order to perpetuate the "hoax" of the Holocaust. Witnesses for Zundel included four members of the editorial advisory board of the *Institute of Historical Review* (IHR) in California, devoted mainly to denial of the Holocaust. These were: a former French academic, Dr. Faurisson, Ditleib Felderer from Sweden, and William Lindsay and Charles Weber from the US. Other defense witnesses included Jim Keegstra, one of Zundel's sons, and Doug Collins, a well-known Vancouver area broadcaster and journalist (he currently writes for the North Shore News in North Vancouver). Collins contended that discussing Santa Claus is technically spreading false news, that weathermen always give false news, and that '*Did Six Million Really Die?*' did not contain a single abusive reference to Jews and should be freely available to Canadians (*Globe and Mail*, 19 February, 1985).

Outside of the court, people were taking actions of their own. In September 1984, a pipe-bomb damaged Zundel's car. Zundel's house had, by this point, been turned into a virtual fortress: there were video cameras, barbed wire, and super sensitive microphones.

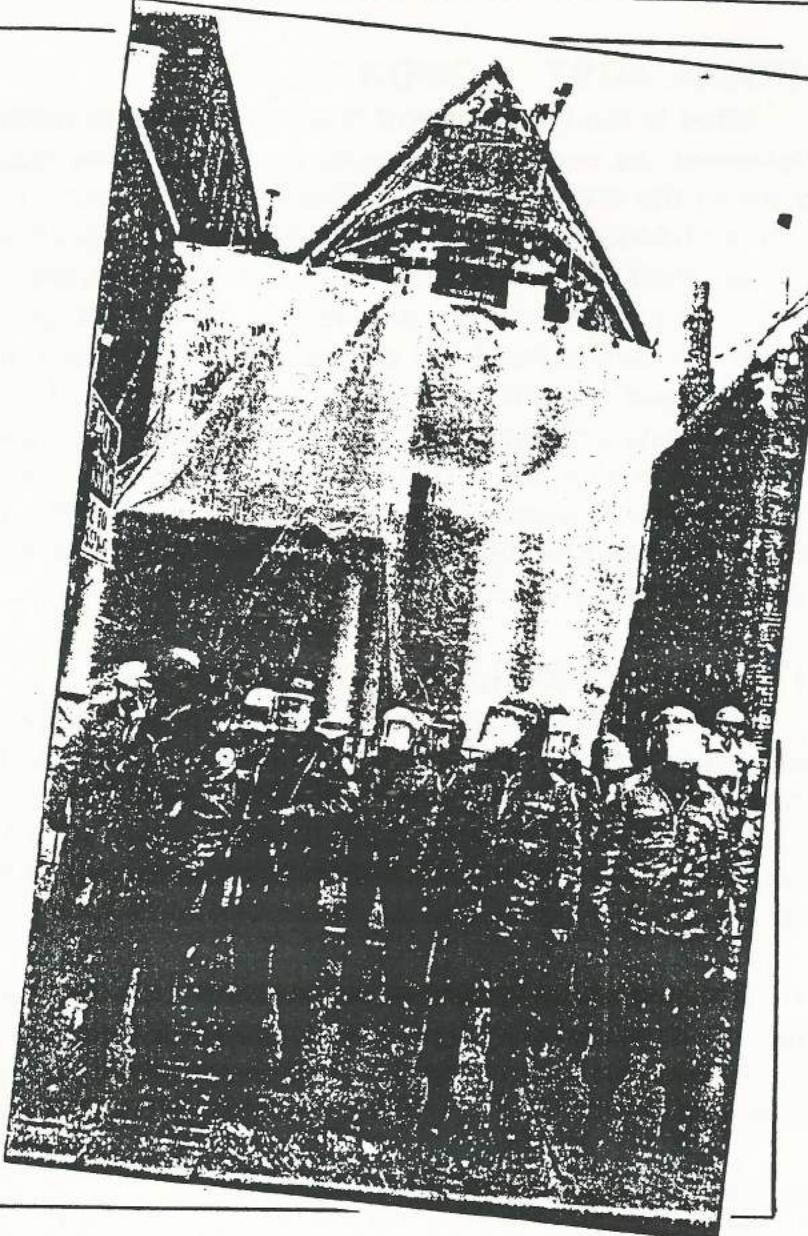
The trial continued. Zundel took the stand, acknowledging involvement with tracts extolling the virtues of Aryans and denigrating non-whites and Jews, declared the Holocaust a hoax, and that the media was controlled by Zionists.

RECHT! JUSTICE!



ERNST ZUNDEL

Holocaust denier, peddler of hate literature to Germany. Only likes condoms when they're big enough to cover his house to protect it from anti-racists. Has enough money to stay out of jail.



Zundel was found guilty on the "Did Six Million Really Die?" pamphlet, but found not guilty on the other. On Zundel's return to court to hear the judge's sentence, he arrived with a large cross on his back labelled "Freedom of Speech". This was, in fact, Zundel's main defense during the trial. His lawyer, Doug Christie, who argued there were no gas chambers to exterminate Jews, claimed that the real issue in the trial was also "freedom of speech". Zundel was subsequently sentenced to 15 months imprisonment. The Ontario Court of Appeal, however, overturned that conviction, but ordered a new trial on the grounds that the judge had made mistakes. Zundel was again convicted in May, 1988, and sentenced to nine months in jail. Again out on bail, Zundel appealed this conviction also. In September 1992, after nine years, two trials, four appeals and millions of dollars in legal costs, the Supreme Court of Canada struck down his 1988 conviction. In a 4-3 decision, the court found that Section 181 of the Criminal Code, which prohibits the spreading of false news, is unconstitutional because it is "an unjustifiable limit on the right to freedom of expression contained in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms."

NO HOLOCAUST = GOOD NAZI

What is the importance of Holocaust denial to modern fascist movements? It is clear that the Holocaust, as seen from a fascist viewpoint, is the main obstacle to the acceptance of fascist ideas within the dominant society. The "stigma" attached to the Holocaust is one which modern fascists are intent on overcoming, with the long term goals that of resurrecting the Third Reich, and carrying out their plans of genocide. Zundel is a key spider in the web of international fascism, his role being that of supplying a massive amount of propaganda denying the existence of the Holocaust. He sends hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of propaganda to Germany alone, where it is illegal to print and produce such material. Recently, Zundel has begun broadcasting a "historical revisionist" half-hour program on satellite television called *Showcase America*, beamed via Galaxy 3. He also has two short-wave radio shows, one being on the commercial radio station World Radio New Orleans Worldwide (WRNO), entitled *The Voice of Freedom*, going out in English. The second is a German-language show broadcast on the WINB station, aimed at German-speakers and German expatriates in the USA and Canada.

SHUTTING ZUNDEL'S BIG FAT MOUTH

While the courts and existing legal systems have had little, if any, success in stopping Zundel, activists from Anti-Racist Action (A.R.A) in Toronto have begun a street level campaign to shut him down. On November 24/93, A.R.A. organized a demonstration outside Zundel's bunker at 206 Carlton, which was protected by between 200-300 riot cops. As the demo passed Zundel's fortress, some projectiles were thrown at the house, and the police attacked the demonstrators, arresting five (court dates have yet to be set).

The campaign to shut Zundel down will require a broad and diverse movement encompassing a variety of tactics, and clearly not based solely on decisions by the state's courts. For those who are concerned about the rise of fascism in Europe and its implications in Canada, the best kind of solidarity we can offer at the present time is working to *shut Zundel down!*

For more info, stay tuned to ANTI-FASCIST iNFO.

**ANTI-FASCIST iNFO, Box 35, 1744 Kingsway,
Vancouver, BC, V5N 2S3, CANADA**





The Zündel Affair

Manuel Prutschi

Introduction

On November 18, 1983, Mrs. Sabina Citron of the Canadian Holocaust Remembrance Association went before a justice of the peace to swear out charges against Ernst Zündel under the "false news" section of Canada's Criminal Code.¹ This section makes it a crime to produce and disseminate wilfully material which is false, known to be false, and damaging to a public interest. The action began as a private complaint; however, the Crown took the case over in January 1984. By the time of the preliminary hearing in June, the indictment involved two separate charges: (1) the publication of a four-page letter entitled "The West, War and Islam" advancing the notion of a conspiracy by Zionists, bankers, communists and Freemasons to control the world; (2) the publication of a 30-page pamphlet entitled *Did Six Million Really Die?* stigmatizing the Holocaust as a "colossal piece of fiction and the most successful of deceptions."² The Crown also specified the affected public interest as that of social and racial tolerance.

Ernst Zündel was already familiar to the Jewish community as a hatemonger. Moreover, government officials, both federal and provincial, had become aware of him and had explored various legal avenues long before criminal charges were actually laid. The Canadian Holocaust Remembrance Association had played a significant role in the imposition of an interim mail ban on November 13, 1981, a prohibitory order that was repealed almost a year later.³ Mrs. Citron's group, as well as other Jewish organizations, had also pressed the attorney general of Ontario, Roy McMurtry, to prosecute Zündel under Canada's 1970 anti-hate law, which makes it a crime to advocate genocide or wilfully to promote hatred

Notes for Chapter 10 are on pp. 272-77.

against an identifiable group as defined by race, colour, ethnicity or religion.⁴ McMurtry was sensitive to Jewish concerns, but hesitated in pressing charges because he feared that some of the provisions in the Criminal Code might allow Zündel to escape with an acquittal. Mrs. Citron, impatient with the lack of action, decided to lay a private charge under the "false news" section, which did not require the consent of the attorney general. Although he had the power to stay this charge, McMurtry chose instead to take control of the case. To have stayed the charge would have been tantamount to granting Zündel a second triumph, after his initial victory in the postal-ban hearing. A private prosecution would have been highly unusual in Canada and would have shown a less than forceful attitude toward the merchants of hate. Furthermore, there were "reasonable grounds" for proceeding, and these were sufficient.

Mrs. Citron, in effect, had forced the hand of the attorney general. A Holocaust survivor herself, she regarded individuals such as Zündel as responsible for her own personal tragedy. Almost certainly, the object of her attention understood why she was bound by past obligations to "slay the Nazi dragon on Carlton Street."⁵ Zündel was far from perturbed at the legal action initiated against him. He had expected it and, indeed, eagerly anticipated it. In fact, it is possible that he printed the Holocaust denial pamphlet *Did Six Million Really Die?* as a deliberate toss of the gauntlet. He promised to fight the case all the way to the Supreme Court.⁶

Trials and Appeals

Zündel, from the beginning, demonstrated a remarkable flair for theatricality. He always arrived at court sporting a bullet-proof vest, making himself even stockier and more portly in appearance: a figure reminiscent of Mussolini rather than Hitler. His balding head sported a blue hardhat with the motto "Freedom of Speech." His entrances and exits were attended by a retinue of male followers with yellow hardhats. Arriving to be sentenced after his first trial, he appeared "with a blackened face (because whites cannot receive justice in Canada) carrying a cross, like Jesus on his way to Calgary. The cross bore the inscription 'Freedom of Speech'; not only was Zündel, like Jesus, being crucified by an evil society, but freedom of speech was being crucified as well."⁷ All of this, of course, was for the benefit of the television cameras. Since, however, courts do not brook such antics, nor allow their proceedings to be photographed or filmed, the Zündelists had to surrender their props (and the cameramen their equipment) on entry.

As his defence counsel, Zündel retained the Victoria-based attorney Douglas Christie, whom he met in 1984 during a brief visit to Alberta to support James Keegstra during the latter's preliminary hearing. Not only has Christie remained Zündel's lawyer, but he has emerged as the peren-

nial legal defender of Canadian antisemites, acting also for the long-time Toronto Nazi, John Ross Taylor, and Imre Finta, a Hungarian-born Toronto restaurateur charged with war crimes.⁸ A vigorous advocate of western separatism, Christie founded the Western Canada Concept Party, and ran unsuccessfully as an independent twice in federal elections.

Zündel's first trial lasted eight weeks. On February 28, 1985, the jury delivered its verdict, acquitting him on the charge connected with "The West, War and Islam," but finding him guilty of spreading false news about the Holocaust. One can only speculate on the reasons for the jury's acquittal on the first charge. Perhaps it was regarded as less important, since scarcely any time was devoted to it during the trial. Perhaps the jury reasoned that, since the letter at issue was mailed abroad only (to 1200 addresses in the Middle East), it was unlikely to have prejudiced a public interest in Canada. The acquittal might also have been another example of the Canadian penchant for compromise; having convicted Zündel on the second and more significant charge, the jurors were able to afford some measure of magnanimity. On March 25, he was sentenced to 15 months in prison, but freed on bail pending an appeal.

To prove the Holocaust denial charge, the Crown had to establish the falsity of the tract *Did Six Million Really Die?* To achieve this, the truth of the Holocaust had to be established. For this reason, Dr. Raul Hilberg of the University of Vermont, one of the world's foremost authorities on the subject, was called as an expert witness, as well as a number of survivors. In accordance with a practice sometimes employed in judicial proceedings, the Crown also requested that judicial notice of the Holocaust be taken. (In other words, the court was asked to accept certain matters germane to the case without actually having to prove them. Such judicial notice can be sought when the facts are so well-known "in the community" that they cannot "reasonably be questioned," or when the facts are capable of determination by readily available evidence of indisputable accuracy.)⁹ The prosecutor requested judicial notice of the fact that, between 1933 and 1945, millions of Jews were annihilated deliberately by Nazi Germany, and that this annihilation was accomplished by various means, including starvation, deprivation, mass shootings and gassing. The prosecutor refrained from making this request until after the conclusion of the case against Zündel, but repeated it after the defence had called all its witnesses. On both occasions, however, the presiding judge chose to reject the application, believing that the taking of such notice would hinder a proper defence, as well as lifting a burden off the prosecution. The Crown also sought to convince the jury that Zündel did not believe his own assertions about the falsity of the Holocaust. This was done by suggesting, particularly during cross-examination, that the defendant, far from being the disinterested researcher that he claimed to be, was in fact an ardent neo-

Nazi. Thus, Zündel simply selected material that seemed to support his claims, dismissing the massive evidence to the contrary. Holocaust denial was really a scheme to rehabilitate the Third Reich. Finally, the Crown argued that a campaign branding the Jews as liars and swindlers was not conducive to social and racial harmony in Canada and was therefore injurious to the public interest.

The defence chose to raise radical questions about the Holocaust itself. Christie engaged in brutal cross-examinations of survivor witnesses, seeking to undermine their testimony, cast doubt on their suffering and deprive their experiences of any real significance. The defence also called 'expert' witnesses of its own in the form of various notorious Holocaust deniers, not unlike Zündel himself. The media, in its coverage, tended to focus on the sensational and provocative suggestions of the defence counsel, as well as on the testimony of his witnesses. The Holocaust itself was not news; however, the suggestion that the murders were a hoax was news. Hence, the front-page headline in *The Globe and Mail* of January 12, 1985, read: "Lawyer Challenges Crematoria Theory." Christie also tried to establish that Zündel honestly believed the Holocaust denial views that he promoted. If the jury could be convinced of his sincerity, it was bound to find him innocent under the law. The jury, however, was not convinced, returning a verdict of guilty. Zündel was defiant and unrepentant. At what has been described as "an impromptu press conference held from the prisoner's dock in the courtroom,"¹⁰ he declared that the trial had gained him "one million dollars worth of publicity."¹¹ However, this bold claim was without foundation. In fact, the only change of public attitude as a result of the trial was one of greater sympathy for the Jewish community.¹² Ironically, the sector of the population most sympathetic to anti-semitism was also the sector least responsive to media reports; even the converted did not listen.

The defendant launched an appeal, which was heard in September 1986, by a panel of five judges of the Ontario Court of Appeal. His lawyer argued that the "false news" law was unconstitutional, violating the freedom of expression provisions of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. He also argued that the Judge had made numerous errors, depriving his client of a fair trial. The Appeal Court rendered its decision in January 1987. It found the law constitutional, declaring that certain modes of expression, e.g., "spreading falsehoods knowingly," were not protected by Charter guarantees of free speech. It also declared that social and racial tolerance constituted a paramount public interest. However, the court ordered a new trial, agreeing that fundamental errors had been committed during the proceedings. The defence counsel, for example, should have been allowed to question prospective jurors. The court acknowledged that some of the questions that Christie sought to ask were improper, but felt that the judge

should have allowed him to formulate more acceptable questions. More importantly, the court found that the judge had equated Zündel's "knowledge" of the falsity of the pamphlet *Did Six Million Really Die?* with "an absence of honest belief" in the truth of its claims.¹³ However, the 'false news' law demands proof beyond a reasonable doubt of "guilty knowledge" on the part of the accused—a standard that is one significant notch higher than absence of honest belief. This confusion, together with the jury selection errors, warranted a retrial. The Crown unsuccessfully sought leave to appeal the court's decision to the Supreme Court of Canada. Zündel's second trial began on January 11, 1988, almost three years later.

The second trial was in many ways a replay of the first, but with some significant differences. The Crown found a new expert, Professor Christopher Browning, a prominent Holocaust historian at Pacific Lutheran University. No survivors were called. Moreover, judicial notice of the Holocaust was obtained. This "bare bones" (as the Crown later referred to it) judicial recognition of the historical character of the mass murders still permitted the defence to raise questions regarding the intent of Nazi policy, the means employed and the number of victims. As a consequence, the rights of the accused were protected. The defence strategy was unchanged, although Zündel did not take the stand this time. Some new faces were added to the roster of witnesses, the most significant being that of the ultra-nationalistic English historian, David Irving. Irving had not denied the historicity of the Holocaust initially but, in his book *Hitler's War*, had suggested that the murders were not Hitler's personal work. Indeed, he had once offered a £1000 reward to anyone who could produce a written order from the Führer for the destruction of European Jewry. More and more willing to associate openly with Holocaust deniers, he chose to identify himself publicly with their position at Zündel's second trial. Another difference between the two trials lay in the more sensitive and restrained nature of the media coverage. The camera footage rarely, if ever, appeared on the television news, so that Zündel's antics passed unnoticed as far as the public was concerned.

The defendant was found guilty again by a jury of his peers and sentenced to nine months in prison. His appeal was heard by a three-judge panel of the Ontario Court of Appeal in September 1989. In February 1990, the court upheld both the conviction and the sentence. At the time of writing, his legal fate remains unresolved, pending a final appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada.

Background and Beginnings

Ernst Christof Friedrich Zündel was born on April 24, 1939, in the village of Calmbach, in the Black Forest region of Germany. He was barely six when the war ended in 1945, too young to have joined the *Hitler-Jugend*

(Hitler Youth) or to have been involved in anything serious in the Nazi period.¹⁴ Ernst was one of three siblings; if his account is to be believed, his sister became a Christian missionary in Africa and his brother a lawyer in the United States.¹⁵ His father was a woodcutter who had served as a medic during World War II; his mother was of peasant stock. Both his parents were apolitical. The family is said to have lived on the same farm for 300 years. In his autobiography, Zündel writes that, from this inconspicuous background, he emerged with boyhood memories of personal suffering during Germany's defeat—"hunger, cold and sickness" under the French military occupation.¹⁶ Moroccan and Algerian troops occupying the local schoolhouse forced him and his friends to attend classes in the Protestant church. In 1953, he enrolled in a trade school, obtaining a diploma as a photo retoucher three years later. This became his later vocation in Toronto. After graduating, he lived and worked for a while in north Germany. In 1958, at the age of 19, he emigrated to Canada, bringing a letter of recommendation from his last German employer which described him as excellent at his trade and a person whom everyone liked: Germany's loss was Canada's gain! The immigrant first settled in Montreal, where he married Jeannick LaRouche, a French-Canadian girl from the Lac St. Jean region. The couple had two sons, Pierre Ernst and Hans.

Continuing his education, Zündel studied history and political science at Sir George Williams University (he was later to credit these studies with his "general historical background" to the Holocaust).¹⁷ However, it was outside the university walls that Zündel received the education that mattered the most to his subsequent career. His teacher was Adrien Arcand, Canada's quintessential Nazi who, in the early 1960s, was living out his last years in Montreal. In his autobiography, Zündel devotes space to what he regards as the sad story of Arcand's arrest and imprisonment without trial for the duration of World War II as "Canada's Hitler."¹⁸ He bewails this injustice, especially since Arcand never received a penny of restitution. The master's fate, according to his youthful admirer, was no different from that of thousands of Germans, Italians and Japanese. "Not a soul writes about (them) in Canada today and no monuments have been erected and no Holocaust film has been produced about them."¹⁹ Arcand himself was a philo-German who spoke German fluently. Taking Zündel under his wing, he made his private library of 4000 books, including many German pre-war monographs, available to his disciple. Arcand also introduced Zündel to, or placed him in touch with, his friends and contacts in Canada, the United States and Europe. This network included noted antisemites such as Paul Rassinier, Henry Coston, Admiral Sir Barry Domville, Sir Oswald Mosley and others. As a result of these contacts, Zündel writes, his "life was enriched."²⁰ The aged fascist played mentor to the young immigrant, much as the old Houston Stewart Chamberlain

once played mentor to the young Adolf Hitler. Zündel credits Arcand with bringing "order into my confused mind"²¹ (elsewhere, he declares that Hitler brought order to a confused Germany²²). Summing up his entire apprenticeship, Zündel states that "in distant Canada he (Arcand) made a German out of me."²³ Indeed, his autobiography proudly reproduces two photographs of the two men sitting together.

In the mid-1960s, Zündel left Montreal and settled with his family in Toronto, a city that, from 1963 to the end of the decade, was passing through a visible phase of neo-Nazi activism. A youthful David Stanley from suburban Scarborough was its first catalyst. When Stanley repudiated neo-Nazism after having read Eric Hoffer's *The True Believer*, he was replaced by a not much older John Beattie as local leader. Not surprisingly, Zündel began to associate with the various Toronto neo-Nazi groups, including Stanley's and Beattie's. He already possessed the largest private collection of Nazi memorabilia in Canada, including books, portraits, insignia, etc.—a collection conceivably enhanced by his rumoured inheritance of Arcand's vast library of antisemitica. However, he avoided leadership roles, preferring to stay on the fringe; he had the leadership of another party in mind. Taking his first stab at stardom, Zündel, despite his German citizenship, placed his name in the 1968 leadership contest of the federal Liberal party (credential arrangements at Canadian political conventions were rather loose at that time). He described himself as a dark horse candidate, representing what he referred to as "the third element,"²⁴ i.e., ethnic groups whose ancestry was neither British nor French. Zündel also portrayed himself as a staunch anti-Communist, making, of course, no mention of his neo-Nazi views and associations; since he was not known publicly in this capacity—in fact, he was not known at all—neither did anyone else. In his autobiography, he speaks of his candidacy as though it had constituted the sensation of the day. "I was therefore the only non-Minister and outsider, the youngest candidate and also the first immigrant and German Canadian in Canada's history who had achieved this. This gave me the image of a maverick, a Skorzeny figure of politics."²⁵ In reality, no one cared who he was, his nomination attracted almost no attention, and he received not a single vote. Immediately forgotten, he returned to obscurity in his double life.

During this period, Zündel had also been busy with his professional and business career. In this pursuit, he was successful and soon owned his own advertising agency and commercial studio. As an artist, he worked for such national magazines as *Maclean's*, *Homemaker's* and *Quest*: in December 1973, his name appeared in a full-page advertisement, together with the names of other "writers, illustrators and photographers" who had "all helped make *Homemaker's* and *Quest* Canada's most successful new magazines."²⁶ Also, Zündel twice won awards for his work from the Art Direc-

tors' Club of Toronto. While enjoying these plaudits, however, he continued and intensified his neo-Nazi activities, especially his literary endeavours. Nor was he loath to employ his artistic talents for the cause. In 1976, a series of multi-coloured, multi-lingual leaflets appeared, calling for the release of Rudolf Hess from prison. They bore a Verdun, Quebec, postal box number and were attributed to something called the Western Unity Movement. The quality of the art suggested the work of a professional. As no Western Unity Movement existed in Verdun or elsewhere, the leaflets were soon traced back to Zündel, who had simply rented a Verdun postal box as a drop for his propaganda campaign. In 1977, he demonstrated his originality by producing some tracts claiming that UFOs (unidentified flying objects) were Hitler's secret weapon: a weapon still in use and being refined in secret bases in the Antarctic and below the earth's surface. A flyer advertising these extraterrestrial claims described them (rightly) as "a radical departure from all previous UFO literature in the English-speaking world."²⁷ The claims reported in the tracts, it seems, "were researched in many languages on four continents, and present a continuing story dating back to the middle of the 1930s, when the first Nazi saucers were planned, right up to the present day."²⁸ Zündel penned this material under his quasi-pseudonym of Christof Friedrich. With characteristic puffery, his flyer described himself, i.e., Friedrich, as "the multilingual-globetrotting author" who was "in great demand as a lecturer and panelist on UFO and psychic matters."²⁹

Zündel did not limit his literary efforts to the outer edges of neo-Nazi research; he also made substantial contributions to the more traditional themes of antisemitism and white supremacy under the same nom de plume. Thus, in a 1976 issue of *The Liberty Bell* entitled "Four Books That Shook the World," he presented a two-page synopsis of antisemitic articles from the 1920s that had first appeared in Henry Ford's *Dearborn Independent*. In the January 1970 edition of "White Power Report," another product of White Power Publications, he published an article entitled "Our New Emblem—The Best of Both Worlds." This particular edition also described the activities of Don Andrews and the small fascist organization that styled itself the Western Guard (Andrews, a Balkan-born, Canada-raised antisemite and white supremacist, was at the forefront of neo-Nazi agitation in Toronto in the mid-1970s).

Obviously, Zündel had maintained his association with the various Toronto neo-Nazi groups, as well as with John Ross Taylor, the neo-Nazi elder statesman in Canada. He was also present at a public meeting of Ron Gostick's Canadian League of Rights in the Royal York Hotel in Toronto in December 1977. During this time, Zündel began to acquire a personal following, with meetings in his home attended by guests in the dozens. Known neo-Nazis who gravitated to him included Walter (or Wolfgang)

Droege, an associate of Andrews, as well as David Astle and Jack Prins, former associates of John Beattie. In late 1977, Zündel organized his own group, "Omega," in association with the Hungarian Geza Matrai, the man who had "jumped" Premier Kosygin of the Soviet Union in 1971. This group absorbed Droege as well as Armand Syksna. To distribute his neo-Nazi materials and handbills, however, Zündel usually recruited hangers-on from the entourages of Don Andrews and John Ross Taylor.

This Jekyll-and-Hyde existence was not without its personal toll. In 1975, his wife left him, fearful of death threats, as Zündel explained in an interview in *The Globe and Mail*.³⁰ Since his own profile was relatively low at the time, it is more likely that his wife simply tired of his obsessions, and of the somewhat unsavoury company that he kept. On the whole, Zündel managed to keep his dual identity intact. There were occasional lapses, as, for example, when Jewish businessmen dealing with him in a professional capacity received hate propaganda by mistake, rather than the material under contract. One client, on entering Zündel's shop in mid-1976, found "a huge rock-iron swastika on the wall, surrounded by portraits of Hitler and other Nazis."³¹ Still, these incidents were exceptions, and few outsiders knew of his neo-Nazi persona. Hence, it was possible in 1976 for Hanoch Borda to write a rather straight story in *The Toronto Star* daily feature "Whatever Became of . . . ?" about the anti-Communist, ethnic candidate in the Liberal party leadership race in 1968.³² Noting that "Ernest Zuendel" had now dropped the "e" from his first and last names, Borda did not realize that his subject had simply returned to the original German spelling. The article raised the possibility that Zündel might seek political office again: "I am still young!"

The screening of the television miniseries "Holocaust" in April 1978 provided Zündel with a new opportunity for publicity and notoriety. Under the cover of his newly launched front organization, "Concerned Parents of German Descent," he picketed the screening of the series and denounced its serialization in the press. The revelation, in Mark Bonokoski's column in *The Toronto Sun* (1978), of Zündel's outright neo-Nazism hardly deterred the self-appointed champion of German national honour at all. A few months later, in October 1978, together with his followers, he staged a series of pickets in Toronto, Hamilton and Oshawa against the film *The Boys From Brazil*. The protagonist in this film is Joseph Mengele, the "Angel of Death" of Auschwitz, responsible for sending hundreds of thousands to the crematoria, and infamous for his brutal medical experiments. Mengele is portrayed as attempting to revive Nazism through a variety of means, including the cloning of Adolf Hitler. In objecting to the film, Zündel declared: "It is unfortunate that German people are either depicted as bungling Colonel Klinks with a monocle or killers."³³ Subsequently, in January of 1979, he organized a series of

poorly attended" demonstrations before the Israeli Consulate, the West German Consulate and other German agencies and businesses to protest the screening of the "Holocaust" series in Germany. In his flyer, Zündel referred to East Germany, West Germany and Austria as "the three German puppet States," and the government of West Germany as the "West German Occupation Regime."³⁴ Significantly, the flyer bore the name of Ernst Christof Friedrich Zündel: at last, he had decided to cast off his double life and devote himself openly to the cause.

The Cause

Zündel utilized at least two postal drops: in Verdun, Quebec, and in Buffalo, New York. He relied on the latter particularly during the year when his postal privileges were suspended in Canada. His principal centre of operation, however, which served as headquarters, office and residence, was his house on Carlton Street, on the edge of downtown Toronto. An old, somewhat neglected, Victorian structure, it listed four different occupants on the front shingle: *Samisdat Publications*; *Carlton Galleries*; *Idea Centre*, *Zündel Studios*. They were, of course, one and the same. Other organizations could have been listed as well, e.g., "Western Unity Movement" and "Concerned Parents of German Descent" and, in 1981, "The German-Jewish Historical Commission." Zündel, in a classic image inversion, named his principal publishing organ "Samisdat"—the term used by Soviet dissidents to describe their underground publications. "Idea Centre" no doubt referred to his firm, "Great Ideas Advertising." What great ideas emanated from this Canadian Carlton underground?

The central idea is simple enough: the Holocaust never took place, being a monumental fabrication by Jews or Zionists (two terms used interchangeably) to extract reparation money from Germany for themselves and for the state of Israel. The German people constitute the principal group victimized by this Jewish scam. Not only is the Holocaust described as a "legend," but its alleged victims, as well as those engaged in a so-called remembrance, are characterized as "holocaust racketeers."³⁵ The Holocaust, Zündel asserts, is

a gigantic hoax which cynically and diabolically aims at blackmailing the German people all over the world. . . . There were no "six million holocaust victims." There was no Nazi genocide programme. There were no gas chambers for "exterminating" Jews or anybody else. The Second World War caused tremendous suffering on all sides—German and Jew, Axis and Allied. None were the victors; all were the victims. But I repeat THERE WAS NO JEWISH HOLOCAUST.³⁶

This claim is elaborated elsewhere: "My conclusion . . . is that no such extermination programme ever existed and that it is wartime hate propa-

ganda masquerading as history."³⁷ Zündel is thus among the proponents of historical revisionism, or Holocaust denial—the new antisemitism of the late twentieth century. Integral to this allegation is the view that World War II was basically a conflict between two peoples, the Germans and the Jews, each with its own constellation of allies. In one of his flyers, this notion is explicit: "We do not deny that many Jews and their allies suffered and even died in World War II, nor do we omit to mention the fact that many millions of Germans and their allies suffered and died in that conflict."³⁸

The apposition of Germans and Jews is, of course, misleading. "Germans" really stand in this context for Nazi Germany, a powerful, technologically advanced, fully armed, modern state, whereas the Jews in the Nazi era constituted an unarmed, defenceless, civilian population in a number of states where their status and security was more or less uncertain. Yet, in one sense, the apposition is not misleading; it reflects the brutal fact that, between 1939 and 1945, Nazi German did indeed fight two wars, World War II and a special war against the Jews. Zündel and other deniers regard the Jews as having "started the Hatemongering which led directly to World War II," and as having "declared a 'holy war' against Germany" in late March of 1933.³⁹ Ironically, this charge was inspired by an old headline in the London *Daily Express*, "Judea declares war on Germany";⁴⁰ the latter, however, referred to Jewish reactions outside of Germany to Nazi-inspired Jew-baiting after Hitler's accession to power in 1933, i.e., demonstrations and calls for the boycott of German goods.

According to Zündel, therefore, the Jews brought the war on themselves: this theme is recurrent. Thus, the Jews are blamed for *Kristallnacht* in November 1938: "Mysterious people wearing SS uniforms suddenly appeared out of nowhere, set fire to the synagogues and just as suddenly and mysteriously vanished. The same tactics as the Zionists used against Germany as partisans, maquis and as members of the Jewish Brigade: false uniforms, false documents, etc."⁴¹ One truth is absolute as far as the propagandist is concerned: whatever happened to the Jews in the Nazi era, the Third Reich was not responsible: "in the Hitler period thousands of Jews emigrated to Palestine with the knowledge and assistance of the German authorities in co-operation with the Zionists . . . [T]he German breakdown brought with it the breakdown of Jewish emigration."⁴² In other words, all was well under Hitler; matters only took a turn for the worse when the Nazi order collapsed. After the war, as nature's ingrates, the Jews were consumed by a bloodthirsty passion for vengeance against Germans. "I must kill a German in cold blood and I must rape a German girl" are the words Zündel puts into Jewish mouths.⁴³ It was the Jews, he suggests in one of his newsletters, who tried to assassinate Konrad Adenauer in 1952.⁴⁴ Indeed, as well as concocting the Holocaust, the Jews, at once

capitalists, communists and Freemasons, have been busy manipulating world events and the media for their own ends. Working directly, or through agents, they direct hate propaganda against the Islamic nations and eastern Europeans, as well as the Germans and the Japanese. "Zionists never stop at words. Their words of hate always precede their hateful deeds."⁴⁵ As Satanic assassins and murderers, they are responsible for mass tortures, deportations, murders, and all imaginable kinds of calamities—indeed, as one commentator has put it, "for evils that could be generated only by the four horsemen of the Apocalypse or by a full regiment of apocalyptic cavalry."⁴⁶ According to Zündel, they have well nigh achieved the destruction of the West and represent a constant danger to world peace. In one of his publications, *Samisdat Battletips*, he writes that, at times, Jewish deeds do compel Germans "to use fighting methods that are not exactly according to the rules of German chivalry, honesty and fairness."⁴⁷

While "Jew" and "Zionist" are used interchangeably, "Zionist" is usually preferred for at least two reasons: (1) It can be more easily employed to denote something evil, e.g., as the "liars-for-hire," "pogrom-propagandists," and "Zion-nazis," whereas the term "Jew" includes Jewish groups, such as the hasidic Neturei Karta, as well as certain individuals, such as Alfred Lilienthal and Richard Arens, who are useful because they oppose the State of Israel on principle;⁴⁸ (2) "Zionist" is also preferable because the Canadian anti-hate law specifically limits the types of groups protected from victimization.⁴⁹ Zündel writes: "Zionism is a political movement, not a racial movement. . . . [T]herefore any criticism of Zionist policy cannot be 'racism'."⁵⁰ As, moreover, "no Zionist is 'a member of an identifiable group' under the Criminal Code, anymore than Liberals or Conservatives, can such criticism constitute 'hate' under the Criminal Code?"⁵¹ This awareness of the ambiguities of the law is evident elsewhere as well. "The so-called 'Holocaust' is a historical topic, not a 'race' or 'religion' and the condemnation of the one implies in no way a condemnation of the others."⁵² Moreover, his plea continues, "dissent is not 'hate' and disagreement is not 'genocide', nor are my intentions 'hateful' or 'murderous'."⁵³ In a circular making a sales pitch for books and cassette tapes, he disassociates himself and one of his organizations expressly from part of the content: "although these items do not always reflect the viewpoints of the members or officers of Concerned Parents of German Descent, they have been selected for their generally informative and topical content."⁵⁴

The proposition that no mass murder of Jews ever took place implies that there were no war criminals. It follows, therefore, that such persons found after the war must be defended against judicial action at all costs. The case of Albert Rauca is a good illustration. Rauca was accused of the

murder of over 11 000 Lithuanian Jews in the ghetto of Kovno. In late 1982, he was extradited from Canada to West Germany, but died before standing trial. To Zündel, he was an innocent man persecuted by the media: "TRIAL BY MEDIA—MURDER BY MEDIA" is how Rauca's plight was described. The case of John Demjanjuk, an American citizen accused of having been "Ivan the Terrible," a sadistic and murderous guard at Treblinka, is another illustration. In late 1985, Demjanjuk's extradition to Israel to face trial was ordered. To Zündel, Demjanjuk is merely another innocent victim of a Jewish smear. His SS uniform was a fake, and his identification card as an SS concentration camp guard was "crudely forged, Soviet KGB-supplied."⁵⁵ Past political inaction regarding suspected Nazi war criminals is exploited to hinder any future action. "In Canada, almost a dozen Solicitor Generals and nearly half as many Prime Ministers treated Zionist agitation about 'war crimes' with the extreme caution the issue deserves. Were these men all derelict in their duties or were all these Canadians secret Nazi sympathizers?"⁵⁶ The extradition of Rauca under Solicitor General Robert Kaplan—a Jew—is ascribed to "Zionist pressure" in order "to turn his ministry into branch office for Simon Wiesenthal."⁵⁷ In Zündel's view, these alleged offenders are innocent, elderly persons, often anti-Communist, who only wish to live out their lives peacefully in the country of their adoption. "Individuals who have resided in Canada for 36 years without having run afoul of the law, many of them contributing valuable knowledge of Communism's inner workings and evil designs to Canada's defence, are now to be dragged out of retirement and old people's homes."⁵⁸ Such sacrificial lambs to a Jewish-instigated "war crimes hysteria" should be protected by responsible Canadians.

Zündel's other favourite passion is the glorification of the Third Reich. "We stand fast, true to our past and to our people," he proclaims to his German-language audience.⁵⁹ Which past he means is not in doubt. "The generation of our fathers had their Horst Wessel and Leo Schlageter! They sacrificed their life for our people. Can we do less?"⁶⁰ Wessel, a pimp and thug who died in a beer-cellar brawl, was immortalized in the Nazi hymn, "The Horst Wessel song"; Schlageter was no better.

Propaganda Techniques and Activities

Most of Zündel's material takes the form of circulars, leaflets and letters, including letters to the editor; occasionally, he also issues questionnaires. Some of his organizations have distinctive letterheads, e.g., Concerned Parents of German Descent, which features a pre-adolescent blonde girl against a dark background, curled up, fragile and fearful, with a teardrop descending from each eye. The pathos-inspiring caption underneath reads, "HELP US." The German-Jewish Historical Commission sports an imperial eagle in the top left corner and a Star of David on the right.

Zündel's style is also distinctive: a tightly packed text, sometimes with press clippings and commentaries appended. His mail-order operation purveys books, pamphlets, tapes, video cassettes, films, records and art. There are homemade audio-visual productions, as well as tapes of media interviews in which the self-appointed defender of Germany's honour is the star attraction. Fantasy in space, as well as fantasy in history, is included, with such titles as *UFO's—Nazi Secret Weapon?* or *Little Known UFO Sightings from Around the World*. The catalogue also shows that Samisdat serves as a clearing-house for Holocaust denial publications from all over the world. Authors represented are the Americans, Arthur Butz, with his *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, and Austin J. App, with his *The Six Million Swindle*; the Briton Richard Harwood, with his pamphlet *Did Six Million Really Die?*; the Germans, Udo Walendy, with (among other titles) *Truth for Germany: The Guilt Question of the Second World War* and Thies Christoperson, with his *Auschwitz: Truth or Lie*; the Frenchman Robert Faurisson, with his taped presentation ("in slide show form") on the 'fraudulent' character of the gas chambers; and the Swede Ditlieb Felderer on videotape with *The Anne Frank Diary Hoax*. For US\$10, one can obtain *South Africa Today*, in which life in the last white bastion in Africa is described as it "really is."⁶¹

A great deal of Nazi material can be ordered, especially tapes of Hitler's speeches with a "simultaneous English-language translation." One can hear "the man whose voice captured the hearts and minds of millions of enthusiastic supporters." Other Nazi offerings include the movie *Triumph of the Will*, which is advertised as "The Third Reich's Version of the Woodstock Festival." For only \$10, one can purchase *Hitler Declares War on Poland* or *Hitler Declares War on America*; one can also purchase "Hitler's sad but powerfully prophetic final broadcast from Berlin on January 1 1945." Besides Nazi speeches, the *Music of the Third Reich* can be obtained, offering "old favourites" like the "Horst Wessel Lied," and the "Badenweiler March," described as "Hitler's favourite." One can further assuage one's penchant for Nazi melodies with "Black shirt and Brown shirt Stormtrooper Songs and Marches." Art is also available; the Nazi aficionado can obtain for two dollars "large, beautiful illustrations of Nazi Secret Weapons suitable for framing." Devising a symbol based on the old runic form of the letter "Z," the ingenious artist-entrepreneur has marketed his own creation as "Thor's Warrior Belt Buckle," which comes with an "embossed Lightning Bolt of Thor," and the "Amulet of Thor," depicting "Thor's Lightning Bolt within the Sacred Sun Symbol." In both cases, the lightning bolt is the letter "Z."

Canadian politicians, both federal and provincial, were bombarded incessantly by Zündel. Elections provided special opportunities to canvass both incumbents and other candidates hungry for office. Another favour-

ite target group was the media; on the whole, however, Zündel has been unsuccessful in his efforts to employ the media as a vehicle for the promulgation of his views. From time to time, he enjoyed modest success, usually in one of the smaller outlets. Thus, for example, in October 1979, a substantial letter to the editor from the tireless propagandist was printed in *The Mirror of Middleton*, Nova Scotia. This prompted a reply from an expatriate American living in Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia, Ms. Barbara Bachrach Taylor, who questioned the editorial decision to publish Zündel, characterizing his letter as "very disturbing in many ways to many people in the community," and proceeded to answer it.⁶² On another occasion, in June 1981, a Niagara Falls radio station put him on a three-hour phone-in program.

Zündel also distributed his material to libraries and schools across Canada. Invariably, the recipients contacted the Canadian Jewish Congress with expressions of concern. In late 1978, when a copy of Butz's *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* was mailed to a junior high school principal in Toronto, and when it was discovered that other mailings were being planned, the Toronto Board of Education alerted all elementary and high school principals under its jurisdiction. Apart from sundry individuals and organizations, Zündel acquired a steady list of subscribers numbering between 700 and 800 in Canada.⁶³ His Canadian mailing list, however, pales in comparison to his infiltration of the antisemitic market in the United States. Here alone, he claims a mailing list of 29 000, although it is unclear as to whether this includes about 10 000 radio and TV stations. As part of his North American promotion campaign, he has placed full-page advertisements for Samisdat Publications in such magazines as *Soldier of Fortune* and *Saga*; he advertised also in *Marvel Comics*, until its pages were closed to him.⁶⁴

Outside of North America, West Germany constitutes his principal target, where (as in Canada) his mass mailings are aimed at parliamentarians. In December 1983, he sent the book *Allied War Crimes* to all members of the West German parliament, acquiring in his homeland an ideologically sympathetic clientele for his mail order business. In December 1980, the Parliamentary Secretary of State for the Federal Ministry of Finance announced in the *Bundestag* that, between January 1, 1978 and December 30, 1979, "200 shipments of a right wing extremist and neo-Nazi content... books, periodicals, symbols, decorations, films, cassettes, records... came overwhelmingly from Canada."⁶⁵ He added that, as a result of similar shipments during the first half of 1980, prosecutions were being considered. On April 23, 1981, in a letter to the Canadian Jewish Congress, an official of the Ministry of Finance in Bonn identified the source of these materials as "Samisdat Publishers, 206 Carlton Street, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5A 2L1."⁶⁶ A story on Simon Wiesenthal in

the *New York Times Magazine* of May 3, 1981, provides a particularly telling example of how Zündel's mailings filter through German society and beyond. A Dutch tourist, vacationing in Upper Austria, was supplied with antisemitic material by a gas station attendant, who, in turn, had obtained the writings from a friend who was a Samisdat subscriber.⁶⁷

Canada, the United States, Germany and Europe do not comprise the limits of Zündel's reach; Australia is also within his orbit, as is the Middle East. In the summer of 1981, 400 tapes in the Arabic language apparently were shipped to opinion-makers in Arab Lands.⁶⁸ Zündel's claim to be in touch with people in 45 to 47 countries in at least 14 different languages is not impossible: an impressive operation indeed! This propaganda mill is by no means an altruistic enterprise. While much of the material is mailed unsolicited, much of it, together with his vast mail order enterprise, generates funds. Police sources estimate that a steady income ranging between \$60 000-100 000 per annum comes from his empire. Moreover, he has frequently appealed directly for money. A report of the West German Ministry of the Interior reveals that, in one fund-raising campaign in 1980, Zündel raised close to 100 000 German marks (the equivalent of \$50 000).⁶⁹ Even this estimate may be too modest. In one of his own publications in 1981, he pooh-poohed the German magazine *Der Spiegel* for guessing that his total annual budget amounted to 100 000 marks, countering indignantly that "Samisdat has long ago exceeded the figure . . . for no organization that spans the world and reaches forty-five countries can manage with so low a budget."⁷⁰

An enterprising and ambitious man, Zündel regards himself not only as a businessman and publisher, but also as an intellectual and author. Certainly, he is not unintelligent. His mission is both practical and theoretical, combining his flair for organization with his flair for drama and exhibitionism. One forms an impression of an impresario—a P. T. Barnum of Holocaust denial. Various circuses are staged at his home, grandiloquently described in publicity literature as "Samisdat Lecture Hall." His guest performers have included R. G. Dommerque (or Dommergue) from France and J. J. Burg from West Germany. Other speakers have been Frank Walus from the United States and Mrs. Rost Von Toningen, described as the "wife of the former financial genius and Finance Minister of Holland."⁷¹ Zündel both arranged their public appearances and acted as publicity agent, setting up media interviews, etc.

Zündel's activities as an impresario are not restricted to Canada. As early as the late summer of 1979, he was engaged (as Ernst Christof Friedrich Zündel) in organizing a North American speaking tour and a "historical symposium" for what he referred to as his "Samisdat Truth Squad."⁷² The projected itinerary was ambitious, including Los Angeles, Las Vegas, Flagstaff, Denver, Topeka, Kansas City, St. Louis, Chicago,

Detroit, Buffalo, New York, Philadelphia and Washington. There is no indication that it ever took place, but Zündel, undaunted, planned a similar venture for his "flying 'truth-squads'" through his German-Jewish Historical Commission several years later.⁷³ Although the impresario might appear more comic than criminal, the image of buffoon is undoubtedly a device to disarm. It is evident that Zündel's ideas are toxic, his modus operandi carefully conceived, his connections in Canada and elsewhere most unsavoury and the consequences of his presence and his activities potentially dangerous.

An inkling of this danger was unearthed on March 24, 1981, in what *The Toronto Star* described as "the biggest crackdown on neo-Nazis since West Germany was founded in 1949."⁷⁴ West German police, raiding hundreds of homes of German neo-Nazis, discovered weapons, ammunition and explosives, as well as tens of thousands of copies of Zündel-type and Zündel-produced material, including, among other things, the diary of the top neo-Nazi leader, Manfred Roeder. Roeder, an ex-lawyer incarcerated in West Germany as a terrorist killer, claimed an organized network of radical right adherents stretching across 35 countries. His diary mentions Zündel. The report of the Ministry of the Interior in West Germany identified Gary Rex Lauck, George Dietz and Ernst Zündel as important North American contacts of the West German radical right and its principal suppliers of neo-Nazi and antisemitic propaganda. Lauck, of Lincoln, Nebraska, is the leader of the American Nazi party; Dietz, of Reedy, West Virginia, is a leading American white supremacist; Zündel, of course, has published in Dietz's publications, and has admitted that Dietz has visited his Toronto home.⁷⁵ There is a sinister aspect to these connections. As the propagandist himself has reported, he was once visited by the police who, in his words, "were looking for persons who might be on my mailing list who were wanted for murdering a certain person of Hungarian birth in Missouri. The murdered man was a National Socialist and possessed many of my writings."⁷⁶

The Nielsen Incident

In late 1980, Zündel launched an attack on History 398Y, the Holocaust course taught at the University of Toronto by two Jewish history professors, Jacques Kornberg and Michael Marrus, using his follower, Ernst Nielsen. In a Zündel pamphlet, Nielsen is described as having been born in pre-war Germany, and having served during the war as "an air-sea rescue pilot."⁷⁷ Shot down on July 1, 1940, he was imprisoned in England, and subsequently in Canada. In the early 1950s, Nielsen came to Canada as an immigrant, no doubt emulating other German prisoners of war who had found their wartime imprisonment in Canada not particularly harsh and had seen the nation as a land of opportunity. In Zündel's account,

however, Nielsen's settlement is portrayed as some kind of noble act for which Canadians should be profoundly thankful, rather than a piece of obvious opportunism. "Mr. Nielsen is not a man to bear grudges," the pamphlet states, "so he returned to Canada in the early 1950s and went to work as a productive member of our society."⁷⁸

In the 1979-80 academic year, Nielsen audited History 398Y; in 1980-81, he enrolled formally in the course. It is quite clear that his purpose was not the pursuit of knowledge but to instruct the instructors and the rest of the class that the Holocaust was a hoax and a fraud. His tactics consisted of constant interruption and harassment. As a result, he was asked to withdraw from the course in both years. On November 10, 1980, in a letter to Professor William Callahan, Chairman of the Department of History, Nielsen appealed his second removal. His two-page letter, a précis of Holocaust denial, describes the books on the class reading list as "nothing but hate literature." The works "are not factual, but are Zionist incitements to hatred of Germans—living, dead, and yet unborn." Most of the authors cited in the course are "virulently anti-German, Zionist fiction writers, not historians."⁷⁹ Nielsen further argued that a professor teaching a course on this subject should "not be a member of any ethnic group or organization directly concerned with the Holocaust legend," adding that "no teacher be a Jew or a German, a Zionist or a Nazi."⁸⁰ (The apposition and the equation of Zionist and Nazi is significant.) The letter also provides a list of notorious Holocaust deniers in the guise of "recognized scientific authorities," adding the suggestion that the University of Toronto sponsor a 'Holocaust Symposium.' Nielsen concluded by offering to procure a number of his "authorities" for the benefit of the university community.

This offer, as well as the entire affair, was almost certainly master-minded by Zündel; Nielsen was merely his mouthpiece and agent provocateur. Indeed, Nielsen's letter to Callahan, both in form and content, is typical of Zündel's style and method. Nielsen, for example, wrote that he had "been assured of the backing of several local and international German ethnic organizations," but the only organization actually mentioned is the German-Jewish Historical Commission—one of Zündel's fronts.⁸¹ Furthermore, another of Zündel's fronts, Concerned Parents of German Descent, avidly took up his defence. In a pamphlet titled *Holocaust Course Stirs Controversy*, Zündel referred to the professors in History 398Y as "Biased, predatory and mendacious Zionist advocates who write Holocaust fiction for profit," and railed against the "misallocation of... tax dollars."⁸² Declaring that "the abuse of our University system through the inclusion of hateful, biased, unscrupulous Zionist propaganda posing as history must be halted," he listed the names and telephone numbers of a number of university officers and administrators, urging his supporters to

phone in protest even on weekends.⁸³ The incident, however, although unpleasant for the instructors, as well as for the Jewish students in the class, only confirmed the importance of the course by providing an in-class illustration of the pathological antisemitism and nationalism that had kindled the flames of the Final Solution in the first place. As far as Zündel and Nielsen were concerned, their efforts were an exercise in futility.

Zündel and the Jewish Community

In the spring of 1981, Zündel applied to the Canadian Jewish Congress for the advertised position of director of the Holocaust Documentation Bank Project (designed to document extensively the memories of Canadian survivors). He penned his application on April 10, barely two weeks after the media had identified him as a major manufacturer and exporter of neo-Nazi and Holocaust denial literature. In his application (which, incidentally, contains his full name), he described himself as "the ideal candidate" for the position. He was, in his own words, "extremely knowledgeable and sensitive in regard to the Holocaust issue," and possessed "a good understanding of... Yiddish."⁸⁴ The applicant also generously offered the project his "substantial Holocaust archives."⁸⁵ The Congress sent Zündel a standard reply indicating that his application had arrived too late for consideration and that a director had been appointed already.

In 1981, Zündel announced that his German-Jewish Historical Commission was organizing a series of Holocaust symposia to begin in November or December of the same year. To raise funds, he addressed himself to Canadian business people, seeking minimum donations of \$250. "Minimum donors" were to be granted "the German-Jewish Historical Commission's Community Fellowship Award," while "donors of \$500 or more" were to be honoured at a "Symposium Celebrity Banquet."⁸⁶ Prominent Jewish scholars were asked to participate. Rabbi Gunther Plaut, for example, was invited to present his "Holocaustological viewpoints,"⁸⁷ and Michael Marrus, whom he had castigated as a mendacious Zionist during the Nielsen incident, was also invited: Zündel indicated that he knew that Marrus understood the "tremendous" educational value of "such a meeting of minds."⁸⁸ His needling of the Jewish community knew no bounds. On September 28, 1981, in the classified section of *The Toronto Star* carrying Rosh Hashanah greetings for that year, there was an entry from Ernst Zündel and Samisdat Publishers Limited wishing a "Happy New Year to all our Jewish friends."

Another favourite theme was his avowed intention to meet with representatives of the Jewish community, allegedly to work things out. He articulated that intention in a 1981 letter to Rabbi Plaut and repeated it in a letter of November 4, 1982, to the Canadian Jewish Congress, referring to

(among other things) to the "rapidly-eroding Holocaust Legend" and the "wild claims of mass-gassings."⁸⁹ In the later letter, he described himself as "the only person in Canada who can virtually guarantee the Jewish community a smooth transition from hysterical World War II hate propaganda to historical fact...."⁹⁰ Obviously, nothing could and nothing did come of such overtures, although this foregone conclusion did not dampen his zeal. In February 1983, under his Concerned Parents of German Descent letterhead, he mailed a six-page letter to rabbis and Jewish community leaders across Canada. Opening with "Shalom," he called once more for dialogue, declaring that, because his previous gestures were turned down by "senior members of certain influential Jewish community organizations," he had chosen to go above their heads to communicate directly with Jewish leaders in different parts of the country.⁹¹ He offered himself as a speaker to synagogues and Jewish Community Centres (for a fee, of course) ending with the pious hope that the lies separating Jews and Germans would be put to rest, and that the "liars" would be anathematized.⁹² In making his point, he actually referred to the Talmud, citing a phrase which he paraphrased as stating "that a lie kills three persons—the person lied about, the person who believes the lie and finally, the liar himself."⁹³

Predictably, the Jewish community was angered by these provocations, which rubbed salt in wounds already opened by Zündel's neo-Nazi and Holocaust denial activities. His tactics constituted a brutal assault on Jewish sensibilities, as well as a desecration of Hitler's victims. Through his characterization of the Holocaust as a political-financial swindle, he also defamed the Jewish people. Hence, he became another name on a list of Canadian antisemites from whom redress was sought through legal means. The search for legal protection against antisemitism in particular, and racism in general, led finally to his indictment and trials.

Zündel's Creed

The Hitler We Loved and Why is the title of a 120-page (text and photographs) soft-cover book co-authored by a certain Christof Friedrich, who, of course, was none other than Ernst Zündel. The journalist Mark Bonokoski blew Zündel's cover in a *Toronto Sun* column of April 19, 1978, showing that Zündel, using his middle names Christof Friedrich, had produced, with Eric Thomson, this panegyric work, published by White Power Publications, of Reedy, West Virginia. White Power is headed by George Dietz, who is also the editor and publisher of *The Liberty Bell*. Zündel, in his interview with Bonokoski, neither confirmed nor denied that he was Christof Friedrich, but Dietz definitely told Bonokoski that Zündel and Friedrich were one and the same. Furthermore, on the day after Bonokoski's column appeared, Zündel openly admitted that he was

Christof Friedrich in an interview with David Schatsky on CBC radio.⁹⁴ In February 1977, *The Liberty Bell* reviewed *The Hitler We Loved and Why* as follows: "(Friedrich) leaves no doubt about it. Hitler was well loved and loved in return, but this relationship between the Leader and his people was not the gushy, sickly-sweet effusion of an obese Jewish mother for her pimply, draft-dodging son. This was Aryan love. Strong, steady and uplifting."⁹⁵ Hitler is portrayed as a revered saint and holy man, a godly messiah who had rescued Germany with the salvationist ideology of white supremacy. Out of the rubble of a nation laid waste by the Jews, the Führer built an orderly, corruption-free, economically vibrant, and morally pure society in which "our men were manly and our women feminine," and "nutrition came before profit; quality before quantity."⁹⁶ Everyone was properly cared for in this Nazi utopia, including the animals (even in wartime, it seems, there were ration cards for dogs as well as people). The disabled, however, did not fare as well, since Hitler devised a eugenic solution for them. Nor, according to 'Friedrich,' "were idiots, morons and imbeciles possible under National Socialism, simply because such sorry specimens were not allowed to reproduce."⁹⁷ Unashamedly, medical certificates of fitness or unfitness for child-bearing in the Third Reich are reproduced. "For... National Socialism is simply the application of Nature's Laws to politics," and "Hitler, the artist and designer, designed a society for loving human beings, not plastic dummies."⁹⁸ Through this great struggle, the white Germanic messiah prevented "the end of White Civilization." Even in defeat, therefore, "we loved him because his spiritual presence prevented our sufferings and sorrows from overwhelming us."⁹⁹

Friedrich's book concludes on a lofty note. Today, Hitler's spirit "soars beyond the shores of the White Man's home in Europe. Wherever we are, he is with us. WE LOVE YOU, ADOLPH HITLER!" Hitler has transcended death. He is a type of risen German Christ, a faith-figure in the eyes of his disciples. To have loved him in the past is to love him in the present and future, since Hitler is the same yesterday, today and forever. *The Hitler We Loved and Why* is Zündel's personal creed and a revelation of his soul. It provides us with a spiritual clue to the inner man.

The Man

What caused the post-Hitler, post-Nazi, apolitical youth to become an ardent neo-Nazi? What led the professional photo retoucher to become an amateur retoucher of history? It is not inconceivable that the answer to this question involves the troubling effect that a uni-dimensional portrait of Germans in post-war literature had on an impressionable young mind. Zündel disclosed as much in an interview with Michael Tenstzen of *The Globe and Mail* (December 6, 1983). Male adventure magazines of the 1950s and 1960s, with their focus on German atrocity stories, left a

mark on his psyche. "I said, this is ridiculous. I knew German soldiers in our village, my father and his brother were ones and they never talked about stories like this."¹⁰⁰ His concern with the negative stereotyping of Germans as "goose-stepping mass murderers or stupid figures of fun" is, in fact, shared by mainstream German Canadians. Many of the latter have been genuinely disturbed by the persistent focus of the media, film industry and popular literature with that narrow, albeit momentous, era in German history known as the Third Reich. For the most part, however, these German Canadians have acknowledged and confronted the reality of the Holocaust. Believing that there is no cause for shame in ethnic origin, since there is no such thing as collective guilt, they are proud of their heritage and their achievements in this country. Russell Doern, for example, a member of the Manitoba legislature, declared in an article in *Maclean's* magazine: "I, too, am angered, sickened and horrified by the terrible crimes committed by the Nazis—which the world must never forget." However, in his view, "German-Canadians must stand proud as an intelligent, industrious and sensitive people who have made a significant contribution to Canadian society since the first Germans came here 227 years ago. Only then will our history be placed in proper perspective."¹⁰¹ In reply to a letter from Zündel, Reuben C. Baetz, Minister of Culture and Recreation for Ontario, wrote as follows (December 31, 1981)

Stereotypes feed on ignorance. If the public knew the story of the German community, if it were aware of the contributions Canadians of German origins have made to all aspects of our life, if it were sensitive to the achievements of all that is best and finest in the German intellect and spirit, the kinds of objectionable materials you cite would lose both their credibility and their audience. In the long run this is the best solution, I believe.¹⁰²

Zündel, however, for a variety of reasons, could never bring himself to take this approach. For one thing, he could not adopt the achievements of German Canadians because he refused to become one, never having taken out Canadian citizenship. To be sure, he did anglicize his name to "Ernest Zuendel" when he arrived first in Canada, but this did not last; indeed, sometime in the 1970s, he reaffirmed his Germanness by returning to the original spelling. If he could not bring himself to emulate German Canadians, he could have emulated the post-war German generation, that generation that confronted Nazi criminality, turned its back on Nazism, and built a new, vibrant and democratic society. He also could have emulated authentic German heroes, such as the anti-Nazi martyrs who died at Hitler's hands for their opposition to the dictatorship and its murderous policies. But he did not. The only Germany Zündel saw was a "vanquished and divided German nation"¹⁰³—one he could neither associate

with nor accept. Burdened by guilt, his pride and self-esteem injured, unable to honestly face the past and thereby transcend it, he opted to deny it. Since, moreover, Holocaust denial is but one side of a coin whose other side includes the glorification of the Third Reich, opposition to justice for Nazi war criminals and a desire to found a white supremacist Fourth Reich—in short, neo-Nazism—Zündel made the mental and emotional transition from a post-Hitler youth to a post-Hitler Hitlerite.

Certain personal character traits also played a part in his conversion, notably a strong capacity to suspend belief. The same irrationalism that allows him to ignore scientific evidence pointing to the non-existence of flying saucers allows him to ignore historical evidence pointing to one of the best-attested facts of all time: the Holocaust. Of course, it is likely that Zündel does not believe in flying saucers at all and these stories are merely for effect. It is also likely, as the court found in two trials, that he does not believe in his own propaganda claims, despite the immense psychological power of wilful self-deception. Holocaust denial is employed as the key device in marketing neo-Nazism. "If there was never any crime of mass murder then there are no mass murderers. Nazism and the Third Reich are whitewashed and made once again respectable and, what is most important . . . attractive."¹⁰⁴ There is also considerable evidence of egomania and exhibitionism. Zündel regards himself, and wants to be seen, as a man of substance, a leader, as the sort of pre-eminent individual described in his autobiography. He does not only love Hitler, he wishes to emulate him. This passion surely makes him design new neo-Nazi symbols, incorporating the initial of his own name. Apparently, he sees himself as a budding Führer; indeed, he described himself to *The Toronto Star* (October 3, 1978) as the "Führer of Concerned Parents of German Descent."¹⁰⁵ Another factor that may have affected his Nazi metamorphosis is a peculiar sense of shame about what he claims was his original pacifism. In his interview with Tenstzen of *The Globe*, he indicated that he "chose Canada because he knew the country did not have peacetime conscription."¹⁰⁶ Perhaps his militaristic neo-Nazism is in part a classic overcompensation for an earlier non-violent (religious?) ethic. Such things are not unknown. In any case, the ex-pacifist had marketed depictions of Nazi weapons and "warrior belt buckles," telling Dick Chapman of *The Toronto Sun* (in a March 25, 1981, interview) that, once the Bonn government is overthrown, "we [will] . . . certainly execute several hundred of the current crop of leaders in West Germany."¹⁰⁷ If Zündel was ever a pacifist, those days are clearly far behind.

Conclusion

Zündel did not emerge from a vacuum. Rather than constituting a new phenomenon, he belongs on an antisemitic continuum with pre-war

roots—a continuum only temporarily interrupted in the early 1940s when Canada fought the Axis powers. After all, Adrien Arcand was his personal mentor: the Nazi, so to speak, fathered the neo-Nazi. Throughout his career, moreover, Zündel has been at the centre of a number of circles composed either of antisemites or the 'fellow travellers' of bigotry, all of which have intersected and continue to intersect at various points. The lines between such groups are often blurred, and there is a great deal of cross-fertilization. Zündel's special contribution to antisemitism in Canada has been the popularization of Holocaust denial, inspiring other Canadian antisemites, not merely the neo-Nazis, to adopt this ideology as their stock in trade. In addition, by means of his mailings overseas, he has placed Canada on the global map as a major exporter of neo-Nazi material, developing a large network of worldwide contacts. Probably more than any other Canadian antisemite, Zündel has been able to avail himself of these connections to expose his clientele to the broadest conceivable range of international antisemitic influence. Thus, as a premier antisemite both locally and internationally, he has deparochialized Canadian antisemitism, and made it 'world class.'

Notes

- 1 Formerly S. 177, now S. 181, *Criminal Code of Canada*.
- 2 Richard Harwood [alias Richard Verrall], *Did Six Million Really Die?* (Toronto: Samisdat, n.d.), p. 4.
- 3 See the "Report of the Board of Review Appointed to Inquire into the Facts and Circumstances Surrounding the Interim Prohibitory Order" on Samisdat Publishers Ltd., October 18, 1982, in Toronto Jewish Congress/Canadian Jewish Congress, Ontario Region Archives, JCRC papers MG8/S-Ernst Zündel (hereafter referred to as TJC-JCRC-Zündel).
- 4 Formerly S. 281.1-281.3, now Ss. 318, 319 and 320 of the *Criminal Code of Canada*.
- 5 Cal Millar, "Man Who Claims Holocaust Never Happened Facing Charge," *The Toronto Star*, December 7, 1983, in TJC-JCRC-Zündel.
- 6 Michael Tenstzen, "Man Charged by Auschwitz Survivor," *The Globe and Mail*, December 7, 1983, p. 3. Kelly McParland, "Weak Laws Let Hate Peddlers Flourish, Critics Say," *The Toronto Star*, October 13, 1983, p. A24. Both in TJC-JCRC-Zündel.
- 7 Alan Davies, "A Tale of Two Trials: Antisemitism in Canada 1985," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 4, 1 (1989): 77.
- 8 Letter to the editor from Zündel to *Canadian Lawyer* (May 1986): 5, in TJC-JCRC-Zündel. At the time of writing Christie had most recently appeared before the Supreme Court of Canada, representing Ross in late November and Taylor and Keegstra in early December 1989. Finta was acquitted at his trial.
- 9 See, for example, Peter K. McWilliams, *Canadian Criminal Evidence*, 3rd ed. (Aurora, ON: Canada Law Book, 1988), p. 24-1; *R. v. Zündel*, in *Criminal Reports*, 3rd series,

- vol. 56, editor-in-chief Don Stuart (Toronto: Carswell, 1987), p. 55; and Ronald Joseph Delisle, *Evidence: Principles and Problems* (Toronto: Carswell, 1984), p. 90.
- 10 Paul Lungen, "Zündel: 'I Won', Despite Conviction," *The Canadian Jewish News*, March 7, 1985.
- 11 Kirk Makin, "Zündel Guilty, but Unrepentant," *The Globe and Mail*, March 1, 1985.
- 12 See Gabriel Weimann and Conrad Winn, *Hate on Trial: The Zündel Affair, The Media and Public Opinion in Canada* (Oakville: Mosaic Press, 1986).
- 13 See Manuel Prutschi, "Zündel Verdict Validated Use of 'False News' Law," *The Canadian Jewish News*, February 19, 1987.
- 14 Ernst Zündel graphic arts/photo retouching grade record (March 23), diploma (March 31, 1956), attached to his application to Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC) for position of Director of Holocaust Documentation Bank Project, all attached to CJC memo, with enclosures. Rebecca Rosenberg (National Holocaust Remembrance Committee) to Ben Kayfetz, May 11, 1981, in TJC-JCRC-Zündel. Zündel's *The Hitler We Loved and Why* is inappropriately titled, since he had no real personal experience of Hitler at all. At his first trial, he claimed that he only provided the photographs.
- 15 Michael Tenstzen, "Hate Literature Factory in a Congenial Setting," *The Globe and Mail*, December 6, 1983, in TJC-JCRC-Zündel.
- 16 Two-page memo from B. G. Kayfetz to Rabbi Jordan Pearson summarizing "Zündel's autobiography," including a number of direct quotations, January 25, 1982. Kayfetz had received a copy of the 64-page Zündel autobiography from Canada Post, for analysis, in TJC-JCRC-Zündel.
- 17 Zündel letter of application (April 10, 1981), re Directorship Holocaust Bank Documentation Project (see n. 14, above).
- 18 Memo, Kayfetz to Pearson, "Zündel's autobiography" (n. 16. above).
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 Christof Friedrich and Eric Thomson, *The Hitler We Loved and Why* (Reedy, WV: White Power Publications, 1977), pp. 20, 23, in TJC-JCRC-Zündel.
- 23 Memo, Kayfetz to Pearson, "Zündel autobiography."
- 24 *The Toronto Star*, daily feature "What Ever Became of . . . ?" by Hanoch Borda, attached to memo, B. G. Kayfetz to J. C. Horwitz and Rabbi Jordan Pearson, "Re: Ernst Zündel" July 20, 1976, in TJC-JCRC-Zündel.
- 25 Memo, Kayfetz to Pearson, "Zündel autobiography."
- 26 Photocopy of advertisement submitted as part of his curriculum vitae by Zündel to CJC job application, Holocaust Documentation Bank Project (see n. 14, above).
- 27 Zündel flyer "Truth-Declassified," addressed to "Dear UFO Researcher." Part of enclosures re letter from B. G. Kayfetz to Morris Saltzman (CJC Vancouver) March 29, 1977, in TJC-JCRC-Zündel.
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 Tenstzen, "Hate Literature Factory."
- 31 Mark Bonokoski, "Neo Nazi Leads Protest," *The Toronto Star*, April 19, 1978, p. 16, in TJC-JCRC-Zündel.
- 32 Borda, "What Ever Became of . . . ?"

- 33 Unidentified newspaper article reproduced in Zündel flyer headed "Achtung: Act Now—Prevent Pogroms Later," and attached to a letter to a subscriber from Eric Murray, an official with Concerned Parents of German Descent, March 14, 1979 in TJC-JCRC-Zündel.
- 34 Zündel flyer addressed to "Comrades," and beneath his signature he refers to his organization as SAMISDAT/COMBAT GROUP ZÜNDEL," in TJC-JCRC-Zündel.
- 35 See, for but one example, flyer headlined "Dear Member of Parliament you are being lied to . . .," and flyer, "Dissent is not hate. The 'Holocaust' is a hoax!" both part of a packet of Zündel materials attached to memo, Bob Willmot (Canada Israel Committee) to Mark Silverberg (CJC Vancouver), cc'd to Ben Kayfetz, Ottawa, April 19, 1984, in TJC-JCRC-Zündel.
- 36 Zündel flyer on letterhead of Concerned Parents of German Descent addressed "To Our Fellow Canadians" [1979?], in TJC-JCRC-Zündel.
- 37 Zündel flyer addressed "To the People of Canada" and headlined "Attorney General Attempts Cover-Up and Censorship," attached to memo from B. G. Kayfetz to Morley Wolfe re "Zündel," December 3, 1979, in TJC-JCRC-Zündel.
- 38 Zündel flyer titled "Is This 'Racism' or 'Hate'?" addressed to politicians, media, clergy and educators as "A Final Appeal for Help!" attached to memo, Kayfetz to M. Wolfe re "Zündel," ibid.
- 39 Zündel flyer headlined "Who Are the Hatemongers, Agitators and Terrorists in Toronto?" p. 4, responding to an anti-Zündel march by the Jewish community, May 31, 1981, in TJC-JCRC-Zündel.
- 40 Ibid.
- 41 Memo, B. G. Kayfetz to Rabbi Jordan Pearson and four others, re "Zündel's German Material," June 10, 1981, p. 2. It is a "précis" with, in some cases, "direct translation" by Kayfetz of four Zündel items, all bearing the title "Samisdat" in one form or another, made available to CJCby West German Consulate. Covering memo plus six pages of text in TJC-JCRC-Zündel.
- 42 Ibid.
- 43 Ibid.
- 44 Ibid.
- 45 René Jean Ravault, "A Content Analysis of Two Mailed 'Messages' Written by Mr. Ernst Zündel (Samisdat)," February 1982, p. 16, in TJC-JCRC-Zündel. Ravault is quoting from p. 1 of *Backlash*. The other publication analyzed was *The West, War and Islam*. Dr. Ravault, a Professor of Communications at the University of Quebec in Montreal did the analysis for Canada Post re the hearings into Zündel's mail ban, February-March, 1982.
- 46 Ibid., p. 11.
- 47 Ibid., p. 28.
- 48 However, these Jews are far from denying the Holocaust. Thus Richard Ahrens, in a press clipping that Zündel himself has reproduced, refers to "the massacre of Jews under Hitler in World War II," and declares unequivocally: "I saw some of the death camps." Yet Zündel, unfazed, includes this press clipping as part of a Holocaust denial mailing!

- 49 See p. 2. For a text of the law, refer to *Pocket Criminal Code 1990*, ed. Gary P. Rodrigues (Toronto: Carswell, 1989), pp. 166-68.
- 50 Zündel flyer, attached to memo, Kayfetz to M. Wolfe re "Zündel," December 3, 1979 (see above, n. 37).
- 51 Ibid.
- 52 Zündel flyer, "Let's Take a Closer Look," addressed to politicians, p. 4, headlined "Battle Royal Between Zündel and Zionists?" in TJC-JCRC-Zündel.
- 53 Third page of flyer "Dissent Is Not Hate," etc., part of packet attached to memo from Willmot to Silverberg, cc'd to Kayfetz (see above, n. 35).
- 54 P. 2 of Zündel circular headlined: "Kaplan: Justice, Vengeance or Hate?" attached to note from J. S. Midanik, Q.C. to Ben Kayfetz, July 7, 1980, in TJC-JCRC-Zündel.
- 55 Reverse side of flyer on letterhead of The German-Jewish Historical Commission titled "A Challenge to Simon Wiesenthal!" in TJC-JCRC-Zündel. The question of Demjanjuk's identity has not been settled by the Israeli courts.
- 56 Zündel Flyer with Star of David on one side and symbol for poison on the other, titled "Hate, the 'New' Poison," p. 6 [late 1983], in TJC-JCRC-Zündel.
- 57 Ibid.
- 58 Ibid., p. 10.
- 59 Memo, Kayfetz to Pearson et al., "Zündel's German mat'l," June 10, 1981, p. 5 (see above, n. 41).
- 60 Ibid., p. 3
- 61 Copy of six-page catalogue offerings from Samisdat Publishers, attached to letter from a University of Chicago Professor of Medicine (who received the material unsolicited) to the FBI in Washington, and cc'd to B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League, in TJC-JCRC-Zündel.
- 62 *The Mirror*, October 10, 1979, copy of press clipping attached to letter from Shirlee Fox (Atlantic Jewish Council) to Ben Kayfetz, November 30, 1979, in TJC-JCRC-Zündel.
- 63 So reported Shelley Kesselman, when covering Zündel's postal hearing for the *Ottawa Jewish Bulletin and Review*, March 19, 1982, p. 2.
- 64 Pat Cunningham, "Mail-Order Fascism Rewrites History," in *The Toronto Clarion*, November 28-December 11 [1979?], in TJC-JCRC-Zündel.
- 65 Text of exchange in the *Bundestag* as translated by Ben Kayfetz, attached to memo from Ben Kayfetz to Rabbi Jordan Pearson re "Zündel," May 11, 1981, in TJC-JCRC-Zündel.
- 66 Copy of letter, as translated by Ben Kayfetz, attached to ibid.
- 67 Paul Hofman, "Austria's Jewish Question," in the *New York Times Magazine*, May 3, 1981, p. 144. Attached to memo from Ben Kayfetz to Jordan Pearson, June 16, 1981, in TJC-JCRC-Zündel.
- 68 In "Zündel's German material," p. 4, attached to memo from Kayfetz to Pearson, et al., June 10, 1981 (see above, n. 41).
- 69 George Jahn, "Bonn Fears Extremists Being Supported from Abroad," *The Globe and Mail*, October 30, 1981, p. 16, in TJC-JCRC-Zündel.
- 70 In "Zündel's German Mat'l," p. 5, attached to memo, Kayfetz to Pearson, et al. (see above, n. 41).

- 71 Zündel flyer/invitation in German, on obverse side announcing program for June 4 and 5, 1983, attached to English translation by Ben Kayfetz, in TJC-JCRC-Zündel.
- 72 See Zündel flyer attached to memo from B. G. Kayfetz to Rabbi J. Pearlson and R. L. Ronson re "Zündel," August 20, 1979 and exchange of correspondence between Kayfetz and Milton Ellerin (American Jewish Committee), August 8 and 15, 1979, in TJC-JCRC-Zündel.
- 73 Zündel flyer on letterhead of The German-Jewish Historical Commission announcing the Commission's founding, with Zündel as "Director and Spokesman" and "Prof." R. G. Dommerque as "Research Analyst (France)." For specific reference see reverse side of flyer. In TJC-JCRC-Zündel.
- 74 "German Raids Find Metro Nazi Propaganda," *The Toronto Star*, March 25, 1981, p. A25 (UPI wire story), in TJC-JCRC-Zündel.
- 75 Ibid.; Dick Chapman, "Metro Man Branded a Nazi," *The Toronto Sun*, March 25, 1981, p. 22; "City Man Link to Nazis," *The Toronto Sun*, March 30, 1981, p. 27; Jahn, "Bonn Fears Extremists," p. 16; and Bonokoski, "Neo-Nazi Leads Toronto Protest."
- 76 In Zündel's German material, p. 4, attached to memo, Kayfetz to Pearlson et al., June 10, 1981 (see above, n. 41).
- 77 Letter from Ernst Nielsen, "Student of History," to William J. Callahan, Chairman, Department of History, University of Toronto, November 10, 1980, turned into Zündel flyer headlined "Race Hatred Taught at University of Toronto," p. 2, attached to letter from Ray D. Wolfe to Ben Kayfetz, January 13, 1981, in TJC-JCRC-Zündel.
- 78 Ibid.
- 79 Ibid., p. 1.
- 80 Ibid., p. 2.
- 81 Ibid., p. 1.
- 82 Zündel flyer likewise attached to letter from R. D. Wolfe to Kayfetz, January 13, 1981 (see above, n. 77).
- 83 Ibid.
- 84 Zündel letter of application, April 10, 1981, re Holocaust Documentation Bank Project.
- 85 Ibid.
- 86 Zündel letter on German-Jewish Historical Commission letterhead, September 14, 1981, in TJC-JCRC-Zündel.
- 87 Zündel letter on German-Jewish Historical Commission letterhead, with attachments, to Rabbi W. Gunther Plaut, c/o *The Canadian Jewish News*, September 1, 1981, in TJC-JCRC-Zündel.
- 88 Zündel letter on German-Jewish Historical Commission letterhead with attachments, to Professor M. Marrus, c/o History Department, University of Toronto, September 14, 1981, attached to letter from Michael M. Marrus to Ben Kayfetz, September 24, 1981, in TJC-JCRC-Zündel.
- 89 Zündel letter in German to Rabbi Plaut [probably June 1981] on plain white paper and signed "the non-hater." Zündel letter on plain white paper to "The Directors," The Canadian Jewish Congress, November 4, 1982, in TJC-JCRC-Zündel.
- 90 Ibid.

- 91 Zündel letter attached to blue covering note sent by a recipient to Ben Kayfetz, p. 1, in TJC-JCRC-Zündel.
- 92 Ibid., p. 6.
- 93 Ibid.
- 94 Copy of a letter from B. G. Kayfetz to Mark Silverberg in Edmonton, April 16, 1979, in TJC-JCRC-Zündel.
- 95 Bonokoski, "Neo-Nazi Leads Toronto Protest."
- 96 Friedrich and Thomson, *The Hitler We Loved and Why*, pp. 72, 78.
- 97 Ibid., p. 83.
- 98 Ibid., pp. 77, 86.
- 99 Ibid., p. 116.
- 100 Tenstzen, "Hate Literature Factory."
- 101 Reproduced on a Zündel flyer, the obverse side of which bears the letterhead of the "Western Unity Movement" and the inscription "There is a world to be conquered together, or to be lost alone!" in TJC-JCRC-Zündel.
- 102 Reproduced on Zündel flyer, the obverse side of which has the letterhead of Concerned Parents of German Descent and the inscription at the foot of it "Only the Blind Can't See," in TJC-JCRC-Zündel.
- 103 Second page of flyer, "Dissent Is Not Hate," etc., part of packet attached to memo, Willmot to Silverberg, April 19, 1984 (see above, n. 35).
- 104 Manuel Prutschi, "Holocaust Denial Today," in *Canadian Jewry Today: Who's Who in Canadian Jewry*, ed. Edmond Y. Lipsitz (Downsview, ON: J.E.S.L. Educational Product, 1989), p. 31.
- 105 Reproduced in a Zündel flyer attached to letter from Eric Murray of Concerned Parents of German Descent to a subscriber, March 14, 1979 (see above, n. 33).
- 106 Tenstzen, "Hate Literature Factory."
- 107 Chapman, "Metro Man Branded a Nazi."

**ANTISEMITISM
IN CANADA**

*History
and
Interpretation*

ALAN DAVIES, EDITOR

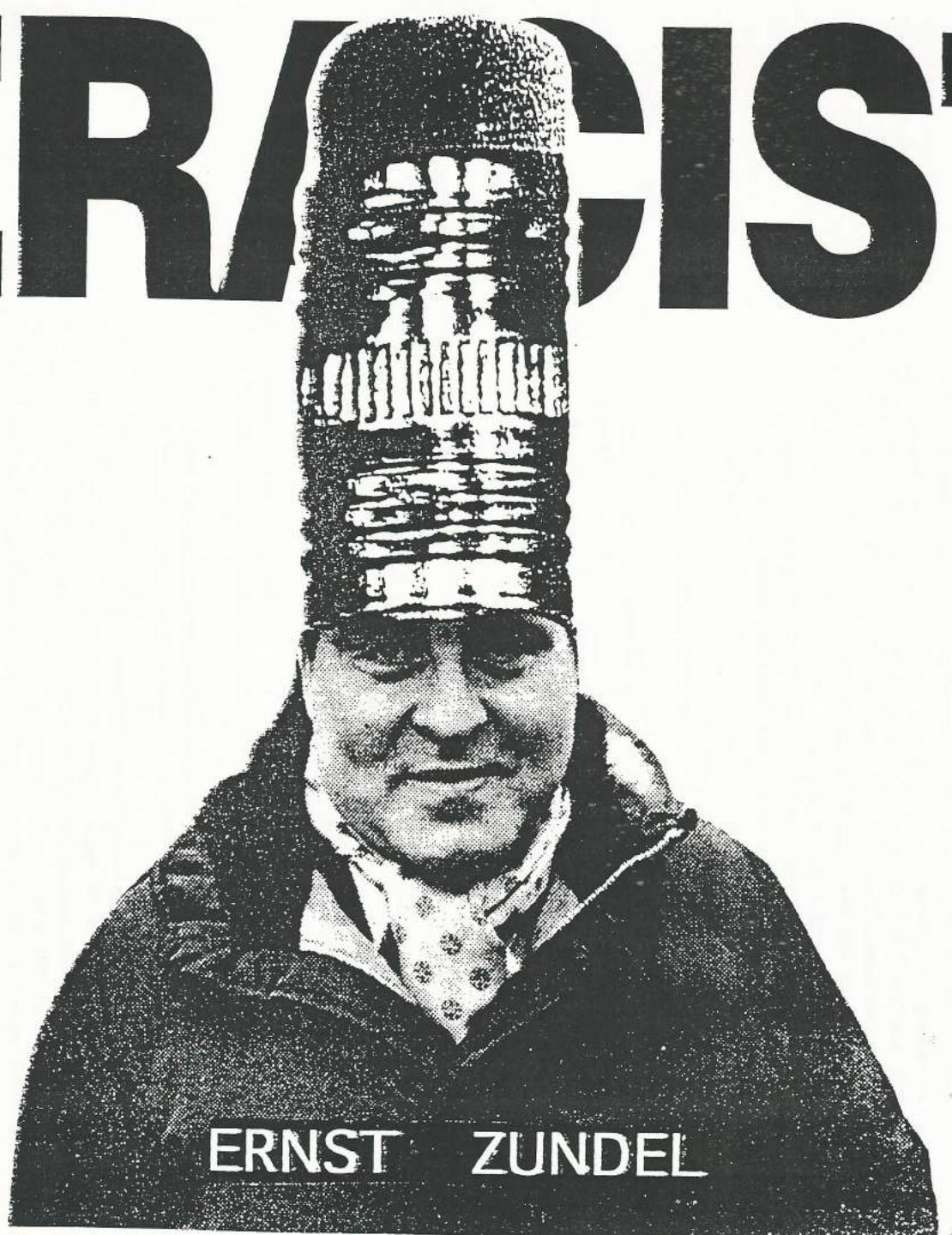


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ERNST ZUNDEL



M. FERGUSON

Zundel (in blue hard hat): tension, confrontation and questions about the number of Jews killed during the Second World War

A courtroom clash over the Holocaust

By Patricia Hluchy

Since Jan. 7 an Ontario county court jury has been hearing testimony that will help it decide whether a Toronto publisher knowingly spread false information about the mass murder of Jews during the Second World War. The trial is likely to last for another week but it has become clear that one of the most horrific events in history has not passed into the textbooks and is still capable of arousing passion.

In 1983 Ernst Zundel, a 46-year-old commercial artist, published a pamphlet which claimed that information on the numbers of Jews killed in Nazi concentration camps had been grossly exaggerated or even faked. Zundel has pleaded not guilty to two charges of wilfully publishing false statements that were likely to cause social or racial intolerance. As a result, the Crown must prove that he knew the statements were false when he published them.

Zundel's assertions that only thousands—not millions—died in the camps has angered many Jews. His Jan. 7 appearance at the courthouse for the first day of the trial caused a confrontation between 25 members of the militant Jewish Defence League and 15 hard-hatted supporters forming a protective

screen around the defendant. And inside the crowded downtown courtroom, as the trial entered its third week, the atmosphere remained tense as defence lawyer Douglas Christie and Crown witnesses fenced over the fate of European Jewry during the war.

At the centre of the case are the two pamphlets that the German-born Zundel admits to publishing. In *The West, War and Islam*, Zundel, who wrote the four-page pamphlet, argues that Zionists, Freemasons, bankers and Communists are all joined in an international conspiracy against Islamic states. But it is the second pamphlet, *Did Six Million Really Die?*, claiming that only 300,000 Jews died in the Holocaust, that has so far dominated the trial. Last week, in an attempt to discredit the pamphlet's contention, Assistant Crown Attorney Peter Griffiths called two survivors of the concentration camps as witnesses. Arnold Friedman, a Toronto businessman, testified that as a 16-year-old prisoner in Birkenau, Poland, he watched train-loads of Jews arrive at the camp, where guards forced many of them to march toward four crematoriums. Declared Friedman: "Most of the people who were not fit to work—the elderly, the children, the mothers—never came out." Then, many of the spectators stiff-

ened with shock as Christie challenged Friedman's testimony, arguing that he could not have seen chimneys belching fire and smoke from burning human flesh—because crematorium chimneys do not emit smoke. Asked Christie: "What do you say about that, sir?" Replied Friedman: "Nothing. If you are talking about crematoria in Toronto and crematoria in Auschwitz [the system of camps that included Birkenau] those are two different things. In Birkenau smoke came out the chimney."

Later Christie clashed with Raul Hilberg, a professor of political science at the University of Vermont in Burlington, over the meaning of terms in Nazi documents. Hilberg, an expert witness for the prosecution, testified that he had studied the events of the Holocaust for 37 years. His examination of German documents of the era, he said, had led him to conclude that more than five million Jews had perished under Nazi rule—most of them in the concentration camps. As Christie prepared to call his witnesses, it was clear that the Crown's stated intention at the beginning of the trial—to prevent it becoming an excuse for again discussing the horrors of the Second World War—had already fallen victim to the passions that still swirl around the Holocaust. ♦

Decision to charge Zundel dividing Jewish community

By KIRK MAKIN

While the jury deliberates in the trial of Ernst Zundel, it may take considerably longer for a verdict to be reached in the divided Jewish community.

Interviews held during the Zundel trial with both high- and low-profile members of the community indicate a large proportion viewed the trial as a risk and a moral obscenity that ought never to have occurred. In short, many consider the charges to have been hasty and foolish. There is considerable anger against those who brought the case to trial.

Supporters of the prosecution, on the other hand, have little time for the faint-of-heart.

The prime shrinking violets are the Jewish community leaders, says Sabina Citron, head of the Canadian Holocaust Remembrance Association, the group that spawned the charges. "We have some bad leaders. I don't even consider them leaders. This is Nazi hate propaganda and we don't have to tolerate it."

The people who are afraid to expose Mr. Zundel have the "galut" mentality, she said, using a Hebrew term applied to Jews who blindly comply with any demand or bow to persecution.

Helen Smolack, another association member, likens the revisionists — those who call the Holocaust a hoax — to rats nibbling and gnawing at a door. Until they are exposed to bright sunlight, she said with relish, they won't stop; they just get fatter. No one exposed Hitler until it was too late.

Rabbi Gunther Plaut, of Toronto's Holy Blossom Temple, does not share their enthusiasm for a public confrontation with the revisionists. "I'm unhappy with the fact that he (Mr. Zundel) has been afforded a platform and his view given the legitimacy of a hearing in court," he said in an interview.

"I think it was an error, regardless of how it comes out. Even if the jury convicts, I'm not happy. The pseudo-legitimacy they have been given is very harmful."

Whereas revisionist literature was restricted in the past to a small number of supporters and involuntary recipients, the publicity the movement has received may whet the appetite of new recruits, he said.

Ellen Kachuck, of Toronto's branch of the B'nai B'rith, said virtually everyone she has spoken to, both Jew and Gentile, was against the prosecution. "The anguish it has caused has been

tremendous. . . . I think it was a much messier affair than we expected it to be in terms of things coming out we didn't want."

Fighting for the principle of freedom of speech was the last thing on the minds of the Zundel squad, Ms Kachuck said. "My feeling is that anybody going to such trouble to discredit the Holocaust has to be motivated by something peculiar. And that peculiarity is anti-Semitism."

Doubtless, the trial widened the split between the two groups in the community. Those who prompted the prosecution have, in fact, been "ostracized" by the mainstream of the Jewish community, Ms Kachuck said.

But it also forced the factions to close ranks against their tormentors — the revisionists who have committed what most Jews see as the indescribable insult of claiming their friends and relatives were not, after all, exterminated.

"You might disagree, but once the conflict has broken out, you have no choice but to be on the same side," said one Jewish community spokesman who asked not to be named.

An air of unreality pervaded Courtroom No. 3 of the University Avenue courthouse as witnesses were cross-examined — often harshly — about whether lampshades were made from human skin and whether inmates of Auschwitz held happy ballroom dances. One woman was taken from the courtroom with heart palpitations.

The feelings of most Jews were perhaps best summed up in a passionate outburst by Auschwitz survivor Dennis Urstein, who told defence lawyer Douglas Christie: "I'm very mad I have to go through this whole thing again. I say this to you as a human being, because that's what you are. . . ."

With that, his voice tailed off; he never finished the sentence. The inescapable impression was that Mr. Urstein was suddenly unsure whether he really was dealing with human beings.

"It's an offence to their humanity," Ms Kachuck said. "They (the revisionists) are demanding a strange kind of scientific proof for something that can't be proved scientifically."

Mrs. Citron, an Auschwitz survivor, and Mrs. Smolack say they were under no illusions that the trial would be painless or uncontroversial.

There are regrets, they said. Prime among them are the ordeal thrust on their witnesses and the fact that playing the extermination "numbers game"

with the revisionists almost trivializes the other forms of suffering.

"It wasn't just the killing," Mrs. Citron said. "A Jew had no right to even stand in a bread line. But they want us to concentrate on the number game. Does it make it less of genocide if it was several hundred thousand?"

They expected, to some degree, there would be anger in the community. But Mrs. Citron maintains that a large number of Toronto's 130,000 Jews are behind the association's action.

If the Crown wins, Mrs. Smolack predicted during the trial, the doubtful Thomases will be talking as if they have been supporters of the prosecution along. And if the Crown loses? "Then guess they will go running back into their little rabbit holes."

Mrs. Smolack said the association used to be part of the Canadian Jewish Congress but was forced to secede because of the discomfort caused by its activist stance.

The community leaders ("a self-perpetuating group hanging on for dear life") were hoping the revisionists would just go away, Mrs. Citron said. The showdown came in 1978, when the CJC leaders ordered the activists to cool down or leave, she says. They left.

The women now feel vindicated. The number of Zundel supporters who showed up for the trial put the lie to all those who claim they are a lunatic fringe that could only fill a phone booth with their supporters, Mrs. Citron said.

Supporters of the prosecution argue that a case such as Mr. Zundel's was inevitable sooner or later, so it was better to take the bitter medicine while survivors of the Holocaust were still alive to testify.

Crown counsel Peter Griffiths acknowledged in an interview that Mr. Zundel's people craved the publicity of a trial, "but I'm personally not convinced that is a strong enough reason not to prosecute people for promoting hate, whether it's against Jews, Pakistanis or others. It is fundamental to society that all groups be protected."

David Humphrey, a Toronto lawyer who sometimes acts for the association, said something had to be done about Mr. Zundel, but the defendant couldn't help but win in the end.

"Of course, he's won. If he gets a year in jail, he's won. He got international press. His name is a household word. He has won to the subculture who thinks he has won, but to right-thinking people, he's lost."

Zundel plots his comeback and another run at politics

BY KIRK MAKIN
The Globe and Mail

In the sanctuary of a downtown Toronto fortress where he hangs his yellow hardhat, an embittered Ernst Zundel has spent two years cranking out newsletters and plotting his comeback.

In an interview earlier this week, Mr. Zundel said he was itching to leave his long career of Holocaust denial behind him and move into politics. Only one wish was greater, he said — to be given a new trial.

Yesterday, he got his wish.

He says he has invested heavily in new printing, videotaping and collating facilities. Now that a court order prohibiting him from discussing the Holocaust has been struck down, they will be humming.

While he was reluctant to reveal much about his political plans, Mr. Zundel made it clear that his future lies in exploiting his notoriety through politics.

He tried to enter politics once before, campaigning against Pierre Trudeau for the Liberal leadership in 1968, but dropped out at the last moment. "Did I not speak from the same stages and microphones?" Mr. Zundel asked. "Have I a way of getting people to galvanize and help me? I certainly did!"

Any political activity that Mr. Zundel may embark on is almost certain to revolve around his anti-Semitic theories that Communists, Zionists, Freemasons and bankers are involved in a worldwide conspiracy.

"If any time is ripe, it's now," he said. "There is not a newspaper . . . in the country that can stop the march to victory of an idea whose time has come. You will hear more from Ernst Zundel in the next few weeks."

He said most Canadians are too turned off by most politicians to be concerned about his identification with Holocaust denial. "When the gods fail, you worship the devil," he said.

Mr. Zundel said that, during the past two years of contemplation "in the wilderness," he has discovered that his leadership abilities and charisma rank him among the likes of Adolf Hitler.

"If I may quote the much-maligned Adolf Hitler: 'If you discover a true personality, treat it with kid gloves because nature makes so few personalities,'" he said.

"I have trained hundreds of people in these (revisionist) views and not one of them seems to have the courage to step into my footsteps," he said. "With all modesty, I would have to say that, like Charles de Gaulle, l'état — c'est moi."

In early 1985, a stunned nation watched as Jewish witnesses at his trial were accused of lying about the Holocaust, and an international cast of Holocaust doubters testified about what they called "the hoax of the twentieth century."

Ignoring new offensive called precisely the wrong response

Since the trial, historian and author Irving Abella said, many people who originally opposed it changed their minds. "It did publicize the extremes of these people, but it brought it into the open. One dares not ignore it — it is at one's own risk."

"The danger was not so much what he was doing in Canada, but that he turned out to be one of the largest disseminators of this material in the world. We ignored him and he just got stronger, his publications got glossier and his entourage increased."

Mr. Zundel is unusual in that he is extremely intelligent and a shrewd manipulator, Mr. Abella said. If he is planning a new offensive, the professor warned, ignoring it is precisely the wrong response.

Rabbi Gunther Plaut of Toronto's Holy Blossom Temple said the conviction may not have broken Mr. Zundel's back, but at least it "stilled him for a while."

If Mr. Zundel moves into politics, one can only trust in the wisdom of the electorate and the credo that "your freedom to swing your fist ends at the tip of my nose," he said.

Far from being choked off, Mr. Zundel's Samisdat publishing house has recently invested about \$50,000 in new printing, typesetting and collating machinery. "We are re-equipped and in much better fighting trim," he said.

In a recent newsletter entitled Message from the Chief, Mr. Zundel announced that, "in the New Year, we will not only be changing our looks but also our name. And we shall increase the scope of our efforts into new areas. Give us the means and we can finish the job."

In the interview, he said he has had to restrain supporters around the world who wanted to protest against the gag order at Canadian embassies, boycott Canadian products and distribute information about Canada's "thoughtcrime statutes."

He expressed contempt for the "intellectual zombies" who did not rail against the precedent established by the order, whether or not they agreed with his ideas. "I have been effectively curtailed from being a full human being with a right to inform others of my findings."

Holocaust denial served purpose of making national image for him

Mr. Zundel is particularly hostile toward the media, which he said protest against gag orders in countries such as South Africa and Argentina but turn a blind eye to their appearance in Canada.

He sees himself as a hero. "Of course I am. I certainly have to say people come and seek out my advice and I certainly am perceived as a competent tactician and skilled organizer.

"I think I pulled off a miraculous thing and it's basically due to a certain amount of charisma, and I don't mind saying so." Salesmanship is everything, he said. "Adolf Hitler could have been the greatest used car salesman in Europe."

And so what others saw as a legal defeat, Mr. Zundel views as a victory. Although his name is rarely heard and studies have shown there has been no upsurge in anti-Semitism since his trial, he says it set the stage for his ascent to politics.

Holocaust denial served its purpose in creating the national image he lacked in his unsuccessful election bid, he said. It was a calculated risk. He said he could have chosen to parade through the city in Nazi regalia, but chose, instead, to entice the establishment into giving him a platform.

With the exposure of the trial, "I can walk into any gathering, from the Don Jail to a supper club, and people instantly know what Ernst Zundel stands for."

Mr. Zundel said he has spoken to many groups across the country in the past two years and discovered a massive discontent with politicians. "Young people are sick and tired of these old geezers sitting in positions of power and betraying their futures."

Mr. Zundel is 48; Prime Minister Brian Mulroney is 47.

Asked what issues he would use as a political platform, Mr. Zundel replied that, by being acquitted on the second false news charge against him, he became the first person in North America to convince a court there is a world conspiracy of Zionists, bankers, Freemasons and Communists.

"I can tell you, there is massive discontent to throw the rascals (MPs) out," he continued. "If I can channel the discontent of the great majority, then they will be in power."

"All great political movements and parties are footnotes to great people," he said, citing Sun Myung Moon of the Moonie cult and Lyndon LaRouche, leader of an ultra-right U.S. group.

Reminded of perhaps his most infamous quote — that he got a million dollars in free publicity from the trial — Mr. Zundel grew momentarily angry. That was a misquote, he said; he really said "millions of dollars."

"The TV newscasts we monitored were alone worth \$33-million — 11 hours of prime time," Mr. Zundel said. He estimated it would have cost \$80 million to buy the print space and television and radio time he got.

Mr. Abella was unimpressed. "I think it was \$80-million-worth of publicity to allow Canadians to see people who live in gutters. I don't think I did any harm. If he got \$80-million of publicity, nobody was listening."

revisionists

BY MILOVAN MRACEVICH

Mr. Mracevich is a Vancouver freelance journalist who has written a number of articles on Holocaust revisionism.

THE CONVICTION of Ernst Zundel on a charge of knowingly publishing false information likely to cause harm to social or racial tolerance is the first Canadian prosecution of a Holocaust revisionist. The Zundel case, however, is only one chapter in the story of a legal battle against revisionism being fought in several countries.

An important West German revisionist trial involved Manfred Roeder, an attorney who first achieved notoriety by vandalizing pornography sales fairs. In 1971, Mr. Roeder founded the German Citizens' Initiative, a group whose goals were to combat "the gassing lie," expel North Atlantic Treaty Organization forces from West Germany, and establish the Fourth Reich. Mr. Roeder also wrote, published and distributed an admiring foreword for Thies Christopher's 1973 revisionist booklet, *The Auschwitz Lie*, which resulted in his being tried for disseminating hate propaganda in early 1976.

At the trial, the prosecution successfully argued that the enormous body of evidence from war crimes trials in West Germany was sufficient to establish the Holocaust as a fact. Mr. Roeder's lawyer claimed that the issue in the trial was not what his client had to say about the Holocaust — although he believed Mr. Roeder's position was clearly the correct one — but rather freedom of speech and thought. In his final defense, Mr. Roeder stated that his conviction would be an anti-German act, that only a vicious and deranged person would consider him an anti-Semite, and that if convicted, he would call Rudolf Hess as a witness to testify that Adolf Hitler had never given an order to exterminate the Jews. The judge found Mr. Roeder guilty of attacking and defaming Jews, and gave him a seven-month suspended sentence and \$1,150 fine.

Mr. Roeder spent a few years soliciting support abroad, visiting the United States, Britain and the Middle East. He returned to Germany and founded a neo-Nazi terrorist organization, the German Action Groups, which carried out a series of bombings against foreign workers that resulted in two deaths and a number of serious injuries. In June, 1982, Mr. Roeder was convicted of heading a terrorist organization and incitement to commit murder, and was sentenced to 13 years in prison.

THE controversy surrounding revisionist writer Dr. Robert Faurisson, a former associate professor of French literature at the University of Lyon, generated a furor among French intelligentsia. In 1974, Dr. Faurisson, who testified at the Zundel trial, began publishing letters and articles in support of his contention that the Holocaust is a gigantic political and financial racket for the benefit of Israel and International Zionism."

Dr. Faurisson's views provoked a storm of criticism and resulted in 34 French historians issuing a declaration condemning revisionism in 1979. Angry demonstrators disrupted Dr. Faurisson's classes and in late 1979 he was suspended from teaching on the grounds that his personal safety could not be guaranteed.

Several organizations representing concentration camp survivors and former resistance fighters filed suit against Dr. Faurisson for defamation. Dr. Faurisson's denunciation of distinguished French historian Leon Poliakov as "a

fabricator and manipulator" of Holocaust research resulted in a libel suit.

Dr. Faurisson's defenders included an unusual mix of 500 intellectuals, including civil libertarians and radical leftists, who signed a petition defending his freedom of speech. Signers included Noam Chomsky and Jean Gabriel Cohn-Bendit, brother of Danny the Red of the 1968 Paris student riots. Attracted by the anti-Zionist qualities of Dr. Faurisson's work, Mr. Bendit, Pierre Guillaume and other elements of the radical left took up his cause. In 1980, Mr. Guillaume published Dr. Faurisson's lengthy "analysis" of the Diary of Anne Frank, which denounces the diary as "only a simple literary fraud."

The case against Dr. Faurisson took 15 lawyers two years to prepare; it involved interviewing hundreds of concentration camp survivors and examining Nazi archives in Poland and Israel. In a complex series of judgments delivered in July, 1981, Dr. Faurisson was convicted of incitement to racial hatred and also racial defamation. He received a three-month suspended sentence, was fined \$1,050 and was ordered to pay \$3,360 to the organization suing him. In addition, he was fined \$420 for libelling Mr. Poliakov.

The court of appeal later cleared Dr. Faurisson of inciting racial hatred, although this ruling did not affect his sentence or fines. In April, 1983, the judgment ordering Dr. Faurisson to pay a symbolic one franc in damages for denying the existence of the gas chambers was upheld, but the court refused to rule on the validity of Dr. Faurisson's historical theses. Furthermore, while the court criticized Dr. Faurisson's technique of reaching extreme conclusions on the basis of insufficient evidence, and condemned his insensitivity to the victims of Nazi persecution, it stated that "no one can accuse him of lying when he is enumerating the numerous documents he claims to have studied and the organizations where he has made enquiries over a period of more than 14 years."

DESPITE the highly conditional nature of this admission, the revisionists hailed it as a near-complete vindication and as permission to continue attacking the Holocaust, as long as token sympathy is paid to the victims of National Socialism. "It is now possible to say what I said about the gas chambers and the witnesses," asserted Dr. Faurisson. "You only need to say it with flowers."

A more decisive outcome was obtained in the case of revisionist writer and pamphleteer Ditleib Felderer, 42, the first person in Sweden to be tried for inciting religious or racial hatred. Mr. Felderer also testified at the Zundel trial.

Mr. Felderer wrote a book attacking the Diary of Anne Frank as a hoax (a favorite theme of the revisionists), and conducted a printing and mailing operation from his home. The incident that particularly upset the authorities was a letter containing wisps of hair and bits of soap, which read: "Hair from gassed victims and real Jewish fat with the taste of Hungarian Jew from gas chamber #3 at Auschwitz." The intended message was that the human hair and other exhibits in the museum at Auschwitz are no more authentic than the specimens contained in the letter, which was sent to Sweden, the Netherlands, West Germany, the United States and Canada.

Unimpressed by Mr. Felderer's claim that Auschwitz was a "recreation area," a six-judge tribunal convicted him in 1982 of disseminating hate material, and sentenced him to 10 months in prison. In



Zundel was convicted but courtroom campaign continues abroad.

addition, Mr. Felderer's printing equipment was confiscated.

Four of the revisionists who appeared as defence witnesses in the Zundel trial — Dr. Faurisson, Mr. Felderer, William Lindsay and Charles Weber — are members of the editorial advisory board of the California-based Institute of Historical Review (IHR), founded in late 1978 by Willis A. Carto, a wealthy, extreme right-wing publisher. The institute seeks to legitimize revisionism by presenting it in an academic style and format. Shunning any appearance of Nazi influence, the institute publishes a scholarly looking quarterly, the Journal of Historical Review, which attracted attention through IHR's attempts to circulate it to history professors and public and academic libraries.

The institute had been the chief "intellectual" impetus for the revisionist movement, but a firebombing on July 4, 1984, gutted its office-warehouse, destroying or damaging almost all its large collection of revisionist literature. The institute is also being sued in a case that has the potential to deliver a crippling blow to U.S. revisionism.

Auschwitz survivor Mel Mermelstein has filed a \$17-million lawsuit against the institute. Mr. Mermelstein — a 58-year-old lumber dealer who lives in Long Beach, Calif. — witnessed his mother and two sisters being taken to the gas chambers at Auschwitz. In November, 1980, he was challenged by the former director of IHR, British revisionist Lewis Brandon, to claim a \$50,000 reward the institute was offering to anyone who could prove that a single Jew was gassed at a concentration camp.

WHEN the institute delayed processing his claim, Mr. Mermelstein sued IHR and related individuals and organizations for payment of the \$50,000 reward in addition to \$17-million in damages for breach of contract, intentional infliction of emotional distress and other allegedly actionable offenses. Defendants include Mr. Felderer, Mr. Carto and his Washington-based organization Liberty Lobby, which publishes the Spotlight newspaper. The defendants' pre-trial argument that Mr. Mermelstein should have to establish the Holocaust as a fact in the case was quashed on Oct. 9, 1981, when the California Superior Court took judicial notice "of the fact that Jews were gassed to death at Auschwitz concentration camp in Poland during the summer of 1944."

The case is scheduled to be tried begin-

ning Aug. 5, 1985, in Los Angeles. Meanwhile, the defendants have tried to have the case dismissed and have been reticent to appear at court preliminaries. The reclusive Mr. Carto recently submitted to a two-day videotaped deposition to avoid contempt of court charges. He filed a \$7-million countersuit against Mr. Mermelstein and a Jewish newspaper, alleging conspiracy, but the action was dismissed.

Despite their official bravado about the lawsuit, the U.S. revisionists are clearly worried. Mr. Brandon left the institute on acrimonious terms; there was speculation that he was dismissed as a result of his having provoked the lawsuit. Mr. Mermelstein is an aggressive plaintiff who is determined to see the case through, and who has stated that he will donate any damages awarded "to a good cause."

AFTER receiving a letter containing hair and soap from Mr. Felderer, Mr. Mermelstein travelled to Stockholm to appear as a surprise witness in the trial of the Swedish revisionist and was instrumental in obtaining a conviction. He is optimistic that he will achieve similar success in his action against the U.S. revisionists. "These people are no longer dealing with 'just a Jew,'" he said in a telephone interview. "They're dealing with the law."

Whether the law is indeed an appropriate means of combating revisionism is being asked by many observers in the wake of the Zundel trial. The publicity and implied legitimacy afforded revisionist views in a courtroom, and the spectacle of death camp survivors being aggressively interrogated by defence lawyers, has convinced many that the prosecution of revisionists under these conditions is a mistake.

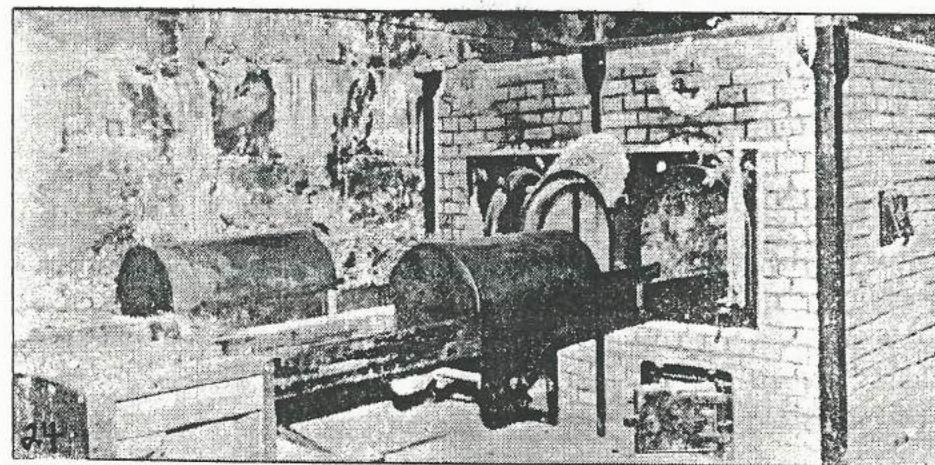
One solution would be the passage of laws that would aid prosecution in these cases. Canadian Jewish groups are seeking such new laws, but it is probable that such legislation would be opposed by civil libertarians and others who perceive a danger to free speech. In West Germany, attempts to pass a similar law have been stymied.

In 1980, the Helmut Schmidt Government introduced legislation that would make it a crime to deny any historically established atrocities of the Nazi era. Popularly known as the "Auschwitz Lie Law," the measure was intended to help combat the proliferation of neo-Nazi groups. Current Chancellor Helmut Kohl supports the proposed law, but it is opposed by the influential and highly conservative Silesian exile organizations, who argue that more attention should be paid to what they consider their own "Holocaust" — the postwar expulsion of 13 million Germans from Silesia when it became Polish territory.

In addition, some politicians are seeking to capitalize on a vaguely defined opposition to the law by many ordinary West Germans, who — while they don't seek to deny the extermination of Jews — believe that the episode should now be consigned to history. After five years of debate, it is believed that the proposed law has reached a critical juncture and that failure to pass it in the near future will result in its demise.

In the absence of more effective legislation, the best legal method of combating revisionism would appear to be civil suits seeking large damages. Some observers believe that the profits to be made from the sale of revisionist books, periodicals, newsletters, cassette tapes and other materials are at least as important to some revisionists as ideological motives, and that the threat of large punitive damages would be an effective deterrent. The Mermelstein lawsuit is a landmark case in this regard, and its progress is being closely watched by revisionists and their opponents alike.

MARCH
7/85



The crematorium at Auschwitz: one revisionist's mail campaign included hair "from gassed victims."



Zundet: 15 months in jail and no verbal or written comment on the Holocaust

JUSTICE

Sentencing a propagandist

Wearing his trademark hard hat and bulletproof vest, convicted propagandist Ernst Zundel, 46, gave another theatrical performance last week when he arrived at a Toronto courthouse to be sentenced for distributing anti-Semitic literature. In his guise as a martyr to his cause, Zundel shouldered an 11-foot cross which bore a sign reading "Freedom of Speech." But court officials made Zundel leave his cross at the door. And inside the packed room District Court Judge Hugh Locke called Zundel "a neo-Nazi propagandist" before sentencing him to 15 months in jail plus three years probation, during which Zundel must not comment verbally or in print on the Holocaust—the mass murder of Jews during the Second World War.

Zundel's offence was printing and distributing a pamphlet titled *Did Six Million Really Die?*, which questioned the very occurrence of the Holocaust. After a seven-week trial a jury of 10 men and two women convicted Zundel on Feb. 28, under Section 177 of the Criminal Code, of knowingly spreading false news. Jewish spokesmen expressed satisfaction with the sentencing. Said Sabina Citron, co-founder of the Canadian Holocaust Remembrance Association: "Justice has been done." But others questioned whether Zundel's self-proclaimed martyrdom will advance his cause.

Defence lawyer Douglas Christie promptly filed appeals of both the conviction and the sentence. Christie, who

had to apologize to Locke after the sentencing to avoid contempt of court charges because he had criticized the judge, declared, "Jails are a notoriously bad place to put ideas." In fact, Zundel obtained his release on \$10,000 property bail after one day in jail, pending the outcome of his appeal. But Immigration Minister Flora MacDonald said that her department is beginning an inquiry into whether to deport Zundel, a landed immigrant, to his native West Germany. Zundel said he would fight a deportation order.

In another development last week James Keegstra, a former teacher, former mayor of Eckville, Alta., and another of Christie's clients, won a minor victory in the Alberta Court of Queen's Bench in Red Deer. Keegstra successfully appealed a ruling preventing him from importing a book from a U.S. publisher which denies that the Holocaust happened, titled *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*. Keegstra based his appeal on a recent Federal Court of Appeal ruling that a Customs Tariff Act provision banning obscene or immoral material is unconstitutional.

Keegstra will provide a further test of Canada's law on racist propaganda next week when he goes on trial in Red Deer for teaching students that the Holocaust is a myth. Keegstra, like Zundel and their fellow propagandists, seems not only willing but enthusiastic to continue to use court theatre in the service of his cause. — ROBERT BLOCK



GERMANS!

STOP APOLOGIZING FOR THE THINGS YOU DID NOT DO!

ERNST ZÜNDEL
206 CARLTON ST., TORONTO
ONTARIO, M5A 2L1 CANADA



DER ZÜNDEL

Ernst Zündel wurde als Sohn einer Holzfällerfamilie im Schwarzwald, in Deutschland, im Jahr 30 geboren. Sein Vater wurde als Sanitäter zur Armee eingezogen und an die Ostfront versetzt. Auch seine Mutter pflegte als Krankenschwester Menschen, die in der Heimat Opfer des alliierten Bombenfalls wurden.



Es war der Horror dieses Reinermordes, der ständige Bombeenterror gegen die Bevölkerung, der Ernst Zündel zum Pazifisten machte.

PROZESS

Gerade volljährig geworden kam die neue Bundeswehr unter Adenauer. Ernst beschloss auszuwandern, wegen der Apartheid ging er direkt nach Südafrika. Auch die USA, wegen seiner imperialistischen Politik?

Kam für ihn nicht in Frage. Nach langen Überlegungen entschloß er sich für Kanada.



Die kanadischen Weiseposter erinnerten ihn an seine Heimat, den Schwarzwald.

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GERMANIA

EIN WILLE
EIN ZIEL

Rundbrief No. 155

Persönliche Ideen des Verfassers.

Datum: 8. Mai 1992

Kristallnacht in Toronto und Los Angeles!

Zundel jailed 9 months bail reserved in appeal

MAY 14/88
By Paul Bilodeau Toronto Star

Ernst Zundel, sentenced yesterday to nine months in reformatory for publishing false statements about the Holocaust, is spending the weekend in the Toronto (Don) Jail.

An Ontario Supreme Court justice reserved his decision on whether Zundel is to be freed on bail pending an appeal of the District Court jury verdict.

Judge Ron Thomas sentenced

□ How new Zundel trial differed from first. Page D5

Zundel at noon yesterday, and a bail hearing was held at Osgoode Hall at 2 p.m.

But Mr. Justice Lloyd Houlden had not brought down his decision by the time the Ontario Court of Appeal office closed for the weekend.

In passing sentence, District Court Judge Thomas described Zundel as a ~~hatemonger who threatens Toronto's ethnic harmony~~.

Crown Attorney John Pearson told court he would not oppose

See ZUNDEL/page A4

Zundel described as hatemonger

MAY 14/88

Continued from page A1
releasing Zundel on \$10,000 bail, as long as the Carlton St. publisher was prohibited from publishing, writing or speaking in public about any of the views in the pamphlet for which he was convicted. *Did Six Million Really Die?*

But defence lawyer Douglas Christie was opposed to the bail condition, saying Zundel should be prohibited only from publishing the pamphlet.

Meanwhile, Jewish groups called for immediate deportation proceedings to send Zundel back to West Germany. Zundel, a landed immigrant, came to Canada in 1958. He applied for Canadian citizenship in 1966 but was turned down, Christie told court.

Zundel, 49, had arrived at the

courthouse yesterday carrying a symbolic mock coffin on his head. The phrases "Free Speech is Dead" and "In my opinion: The Holocaust was a Lie" were painted on it.

Asked if he was worried about going to jail, he said: "Not a damn bit . . . It's not so bad."

In his remarks, Judge Thomas said: "Toronto is made up of vast numbers of ethnic groups — the great strength of Toronto is its ethnicity . . . We have an awful lot to be proud of. But this community has no place for people who want to spew hate for their own purposes. The line must be drawn."

Thomas took into account that Zundel had endured two long jury trials — the latest one lasting more than three months.

Zundel was sentenced to 15 months in 1985 after a jury found him guilty on the same charge, and Judge Hugh Locke had imposed a three-year probation period. But the appeal court overturned the verdict and ordered a new trial.

Manuel Prutschi, community relations director of the Canadian Jewish Congress, said he welcomed Thomas' statements about preserving racial tolerance in Toronto.

Alan Sheftman, director of the League of Human Rights of B'nai Brith, said he thought the 15-month sentence given Zundel last time was "entirely appropriate." But the nine-month sentence was long enough to ensure deportation proceedings begin and "that was the real concern."

**DEUTSCHE
WEHRT EUCH!
WACHT ENDLICH AUF!
KÄMPFT MIT**

UNTERSTÜTZEN SIE UNSEREN KAMPF
SPENDEN AN:
V.i.S.d.P. ERNST ZÜNDEL
206 CARLTON ST., TORONTO,
ONTARIO, KANADA M5A 2L1

Nachdrucke anfordern.



**WÄHRUNGS INTEGRA-
TION BEDEUTET TOD
DER D-MARK
INFLATION UND
ARBEITSLOSIGKEIT**

UNTERSTÜTZEN SIE UNSEREN KAMPF
GEGEN DEN WÄHRUNGSVERTRÄT DURCH
SPENDEN AN:

ERNST ZÜNDEL, D-MARK LOBBY
206 CARLTON ST., TORONTO,
ONTARIO, KANADA M5A 2L1

Jury at 2nd trial convicts Zundel on count of spreading false news

BY DONN DOWNEY

The Globe and Mail MAY 12/88

Ernst Zundel was found guilty yesterday of spreading false news after an Ontario District Court jury deliberated at his second trial for 17 hours. He had published a pamphlet calling the Holocaust a hoax.

When the jury foreman read the verdict, Mr. Zundel scarcely blinked an eye. The packed courtroom, filled mostly with Zundel supporters, was silent.

Before the foreman delivered the verdict, Judge Ronald Thomas told

the courtroom that any outbursts "that could be viewed as bringing the judicial system into disrepute would involve immediate discipline."

Outside the courtroom, Mr. Zundel said he was not surprised by the verdict because of the "endless brainwashing" that goes on in Canada. He said he would appeal to the Ontario Court of Appeal and that the documents were already prepared.

(An appeal is automatic on a point of law, and Judge Ronald Thomas told the jury to take "judi-

cial notice" that the mass murder of the Jews by the Nazis during the Second World War is a historical fact.)

Mr. Zundel was first convicted in 1985 of spreading false news, but the verdict was overturned by the Ontario Court of Appeal and a new trial was ordered in January of 1987.

Judge Thomas said he would pronounce sentence tomorrow, despite a request from Mr. Zundel's lawyer, Douglas Christie, that he pronounce it sooner.

Mr. Zundel, a native of West Germany, is subject to a prison

ZUNDEL — Page A11

Zundel verdict called important to minorities

• From Page One MAY 12/88

term of up to two years and could also be deported.

The charge dealt with his publishing of the pamphlet Did Six Million Really Die?, which questions whether Jews were exterminated by the Nazis during the Second World War.

In front of the courthouse, Mr. Zundel, who had discarded the hard hat he wore at earlier court appearances in favor of a soft cap, faced an array of reporters and television cameras.

He said he expects to go to jail tomorrow but this does not bother him, adding that he will continue to "speak against the Holocaust as long as I live."

He said he got \$1-million worth of publicity out of the trial, although it did not receive the publicity that the first trial did.

One reporter asked him why he did not testify this time. He answered that he did not want to "muddy the waters" after he had spent a large amount of money getting experts to testify.

The Canadian Jewish Congress said the verdict "demonstrates that Canadians will not tolerate the vilification of ethnological communities."

A joint statement by Charles Zalon, the Ontario region chairman, and Rose Wolfe, chairman of the CJC's joint community-relations committee, said the guilty verdict is of importance to all minorities. "It reaffirms the effectiveness of the Criminal Code in upholding social and racial harmony."

Sabina Citron, whose 1983 complaint led to Mr. Zundel's first conviction, said the Canadian people had at last seen through Mr. Zundel. "He has been exposed. He is a Nazi."

Rev. Gordon Nodwell, chairman of the board of the Christian-Jewish Dialogue of Toronto, said that a "jury of ordinary men and women have clearly stated racism and religious intolerance is not acceptable. Tragically, once again the suffering of the Holocaust survivors . . . has been reawakened by the trial."

Meir Halevi, national director of the Jewish Defence League, said he is satisfied with the verdict and hopes Mr. Zundel will receive the maximum sentence. But because there are still legal avenues for Mr. Zundel, "the circus may continue."

The verdict ended a trial of almost four months that included evidence from six Crown witnesses and 23 defence witnesses, more than 150 exhibits and about 14,000 pages of court transcript.

The audience in the usually packed courtroom, which holds about 80 spectators, was made up mainly of people who were on Mr. Zundel's side. The same faces appeared day after day, and muted laughter was heard at intervals during the anti-Zundel testimony.

The trial did not always proceed smoothly. One juror was excused on March 1 and Judge Thomas would say only: "I have excused one juror. . . . There is no reason to speculate, and you should not make inquiries."

At another point, Mr. Christie called into question the status of a court interpreter who was heard in the courtroom cafeteria discussing the case. Mr. Christie argued that this diminished her status as an impartial participant.

Five times Mr. Christie moved for a mistrial, but all moves were rejected by Judge Thomas. Three of the requests were related to articles that appeared in the press, a fourth was based on the judicial notice and the last one related to the possible bias that might be read into the interpreter's conversation in the cafeteria.

There were several exchanges between Mr. Christie and Judge Thomas. On Feb. 19, Judge Thomas apparently thought Mr. Christie had infringed on his territory after Mr. Christie had interrupted a witness.

"Mr. Christie has made a ruling," Judge Thomas said sarcastically. "I'd like to appeal that ruling if I might."

(Mr. Christie is a Victoria lawyer who frequently defends unpopular causes. Besides defending Mr. Zundel, he has defended James Keegstra, the Alberta teacher who was convicted in 1984 of promoting hatred against Jews.)

Before the verdict was delivered, Mr. Zundel said in a telephone interview that his defence cost about \$300,000, part of which represented the cost of gathering first-hand evidence at the Polish concentration camps. The defence said this was the first on-site scientific study of the camps. It cost, by Mr. Zundel's estimate, about \$65,000.

Mr. Zundel said he paid for his defence from his own savings and from contributions he gets from sympathizers from all parts of the world.

Five experts were involved in the Polish concentration-camp study but only one of the five, James Roth, a professor at Cornell University,

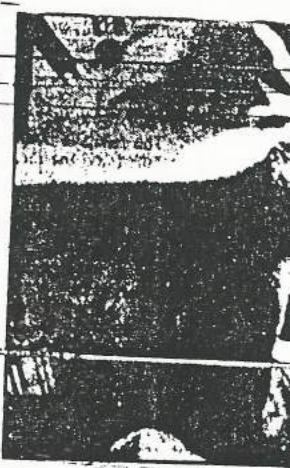
sity, testified at the trial. He did not go to Poland, but provided a chemical analysis of the brick samples others brought back. He acknowledged that he had no control over the gathering of the samples.

Last year, in overturning Mr. Zundel's 1985 conviction, the Ontario Court of Appeal said District Court Judge Hugh Locke misled the jury about the law and Mr. Zundel had a right to introduce slides, models and books to show he honestly believed in the truth of the publication.

At the new trial, Mr. Zundel's defence was given greater rein.

Judge Thomas ordered the jury to take "judicial notice" that "mass murder and extermination of Jews in Europe by the Nazi regime during the Second World War is a historical fact." It is notorious and generally known, he said.

The defence maintained that the Holocaust was propaganda posing as history so that the Jews could



Ernst Zundel

demand reparations from West Germany to realize the homeland of the State of Israel.

Outside the court, Mr. Zundel said the media was an accessory to the crime of spreading false news. "We (the Germans) are the victims of this story, not the Jews. It is a major human-rights story."

New Zundel trial differed from first in some key ways

By Harold Levy Toronto Star MAY 14/98

AFTER the Ontario Court of Appeal upset the 1983 conviction of Ernst Zundel for "wilfully spreading false news" by publishing a pamphlet titled *Did Six Million Really Die?* there was considerable apprehension over the prospect of a new trial.

The trial had been criticized because it gave Zundel a national forum which he otherwise would never have had. It had exposed Holocaust survivors to the agony of having their nightmarish experiences questioned during cross-examination by Zundel's lawyer, Doug Christie. And it had drawn the news media out in full force.

But the new trial, which ended this week with a conviction and a nine-month jail sentence, differed from its predecessor for several major reasons:

□ District Court Judge Ronald Thomas instructed the jurors that they should accept as a matter of law that "The Holocaust, as defined in essence as the mass murder and extermination of Jews in Europe by the Nazis during the Second World War, is so notorious as not to be the subject of dispute."

In the first trial, as District Court Judge Hugh Locke did not give jurors a similar direction, the prosecutor had to call Holocaust survivors to testify in order to satisfy the jury that the facts

Beyond doubt: Jury's verdict pronounced that Ernst Zundel wilfully published lies likely to damage the public's interest in social and racial tolerance

in the pamphlet denying the mass horrors were false. The trial seemed to turn into a heated battle over whether the Holocaust occurred, rather than the narrow issue of whether Zundel published the pamphlet knowing it contained false facts and caused the requisite harm.

Thomas' decision, made before the jury was chosen, diffused that emotional issue. This led to a much more sharply focussed trial based on the crown's efforts to prove through historians that the pamphlet was riddled with falsehoods, and Christie's efforts to satisfy the jurors that there were other individuals who believed that the facts set out were true.

□ Zundel decided not to testify in his own defence. This decision also diffused the tension at the trial. But it made the prosecution's task of proving Zundel's state of mind more difficult, as the jurors would have to make their assessment based solely on the evidence of witnesses called by the prosecution and the defence.

Prosecutor John Pearson anticipated that Zundel might not testify. So he tried to give the jury glimpses of his state of mind through his cross-examinations of Zundel's own witnesses about their discussions with him and through such exhibits as a taped interview of Zundel on CBC-Radio's *As It Happens*.

Zundel was perfectly within his rights not to testify. As with any person accused of a crime, he could not be forced to incriminate himself and the prosecutor and judge were precluded from commenting to the jury on the fact that he had chosen not to testify.

Zundel shielded himself from being cross-examined by the prosecutor about his belief in particular facts — and whether he knew they were false when he published them.

□ Second trials often have less public impact because there is a sense of déjà vu. The media were able to make a more measured view of the resources that they would commit to reporting the trial this time around. The second trial was remarkably different because Thomas had the benefit and guidance of the appeal court decision as to the application of the law, the jury-selection process, and the admissibility of particular items of evidence.

In the first trial, Locke had been confronted with a rare criminal charge that had never been used in the

context of the publication of historical facts. He was deciding extremely complex issues for the first time during the emotion-laden 7½ weeks.

Thomas made ample use of the appeal court judgment. He must have been only too aware that if he called the shots wrong, there would likely be a new appeal and a possible third trial. If anything, Thomas leaned backward to allow Christie to introduce his evidence. Although he had instructed the jury to take notice that the Holocaust had in fact occurred, Thomas permitted Christie to call contrary evidence in a bid to establish Zundel's belief that the facts he published were true.

Pearson was faced with some unusual problems that called for considerable skill and forensic ability. He attempted to establish motive at an early stage in the trial by linking Zundel with publications that idolized Adolf Hitler. The aim was to convince the jurors that Zundel would falsify the facts so as to rehabilitate Hitler and thereby lay a foundation in Canada and elsewhere for selling neo-Nazi ideas.

PEARSON also had to convince jurors that the publication of the pamphlet was, in the words of the Criminal Code, "likely to cause mischief to the public interest in social and racial tolerance."

He managed to elicit from Professor Robert Faurisson, a defence witness who believes the Holocaust is a hoax perpetuated by Zionists, a statement that he was "obliged to admit that revisionism is something that brings disturbances."

Pearson dismissed the view that Zundel and others in his movement were a group of old men worshipping Hitler. Instead, he painted the picture of a menacing neo-Nazi revisionist movement being spread by vicious adherents of all ages, a movement dedicated to breeding social and racial intolerance.

The jury's verdict is an unequivocal pronouncement that 11 ordinary citizens concluded beyond a reasonable doubt that the pamphlet's underlying thesis that the Holocaust was a hoax dreamed up by Zionists to exact more reparations from Germany was false, that Zundel knew this thesis was false, and that his wilful publication of these lies was in fact likely to damage the Canadian public's interest in social and racial tolerance.



Many hurdles in any deportation

TORONTO —

Moments after pro-Nazi propagandist Ernst Zundel was sentenced to nine months in jail for publishing lies about the Holocaust (CJN May 19), spokespersons for a number of Jewish organizations issued a call for his deportation.

They stated that under Canadian law, a permanent resident who has been convicted of an offence and sentenced to more than six months in jail, is liable for deportation.

Zundel, 49, immigrated to Canada from West Germany in 1958 but never acquired Canadian citizenship. He was convicted recently of the criminal offence of wilfully publishing false information likely to cause an injury to a public interest in social and racial tolerance.

According to Robert Greenslade, an information officer with the employment and immigration department, any deportation procedure is put on hold until all criminal matters are concluded. "It's a little early yet" to comment on the Zundel case, he said, but "generally speaking, any proceeding is held in abeyance until all the avenues of (criminal) appeal have been exhausted."

Zundel has vowed to fight his conviction to the Supreme Court of Canada. Appeal documents were filed shortly after a District Court jury handed down its unanimous guilty verdict, and it could take months before the Ontario Court of Appeal hears the matter.

and even longer until it renders its decision:

Should the Appeal Court overturn the conviction or reduce the sentence below the 6-month threshold, deportation proceedings would be stymied, said lawyer Howard Greenberg, a specialist in immigration matters.

That was the case following Zundel's 1985 conviction, when he received a 15-month sentence.

The process of removing a permanent resident from Canada begins when an immigration or police officer forwards a written report to the deputy minister of immigration setting out the details of the case, Greenberg said.

by the immigrant, to make a deportation order against the immigrant.

A wide latitude is given the permanent resident to show he has not done those acts complained of in the report.

An appeal from an adjudicator's ruling is available to the Immigration Appeal Board, an independent judicial body, Greenberg said.

The board may deter-

mine, "having regard to all the circumstances of the case, (that) the person shall not be removed from Canada...In other words, the board can overturn a deportation order notwithstanding that the grounds for bringing the inquiry, being the conviction, are proven."

The board, he added, has "the widest possible discretion" in making its decision.

CANADIAN JEWISH - JUNE 2/88
NEWS

An appeal from the board's decision is available on a question of law to the Federal Court of Appeal, which has the authority to grant or deny leave (permission) for the appeal to be heard.

The entire process, should each avenue of appeal be taken, could take two or more years to complete, meaning Ernst Zundel will likely be with us for some time to come.

Appeal available

The deputy minister considers the report and determines whether an inquiry is warranted. If a decision is taken to proceed to an inquiry, a senior immigration officer is informed and that person "shall cause an inquiry to be held before an adjudicator," Greenberg stated.

Should the adjudicator determine a 6-month sentence has been imposed, he is required, subject to a claim for refugee status



Socred hopeful pulls out of race

CALGARY HERALD SEPT. 24/91

Candidate was researcher for hate propagandist

VANCOUVER (CP) — Premier Rita Johnston avoided a potentially damaging blow to the Social Credit re-election campaign Monday when a candidate linked to hate propagandist Ernst Zundel offered to step down.

John Ball, running in former premier Bill Vander Zalm's old riding of Richmond East, admitted he was a paid worker on Zundel's research team that tried to prove the Holocaust was a hoax.

Zundel was convicted of spreading false news in publishing pamphlets that denied the massacre of Jews by the Nazis in the Second World War.

Ball said he worked for Zundel at his first trial in 1985, analysing aerial photographs of concentration camp sites.

Johnston, who was attending a hospital wing opening, said Socred campaign manager Jess Ketchum had accepted Ball's resignation as a candidate.

"It's a very awkward position and I believe it's the best way," she said.

Johnston said she had not talked to Ball, a geologist by profession, but understood he didn't agree with Zundel's views on the Holocaust.

Media reports about Ball's past were making a mountain out of a molehill, she said.

The suburban Vancouver riding association plans another nomination meeting.



JOHNSTON: 'The best way'

NDP multicultural critic Emery Barnes, invited to the opening ceremony because the hospital is in his riding, called the incident astounding.

"Clearly the government is not even aware of its candidates," he said.

Johnston's troubles didn't end at the hospital doors.

Hecklers interrupted her speech at the opening of the \$17-million tower for St. Paul's — provincial contribution \$5 million.

"Given the systematic destruction of our health care system, this is a symbolic gesture on behalf of the provincial government," said a 24-year-old man who described himself only as a disillusioned former Socred.

"Can you adequately staff this and other facilities?"



ASSOCIATED PRESS

ZUNDEL IN MUNICH: Canadian publisher flashes victory sign as he arrives at courthouse

ZUNDEL TRIAL

German judge halts neo-Nazi rally

Canadian Press

VANCOUVER SUN - NOV. 7/91

BERLIN — Videotapes screened during Ernst Zundel's hate-law trial show the Toronto publisher believes the Holocaust was a lie.

During Zundel's first day in court in Munich, it also became clear that he believes the Diary of Anne Frank is a "pornographic" work, said the newspaper Suddeutsche Zeitung. He describes the book as the "biggest literary swindle of the century."

Zundel was arrested while visiting Bavaria last March in connec-

tion with a neo-Nazi videotape and newsletters that had been distributed in Germany.

Zundel says the videotapes were distributed in Germany without his knowledge.

The newspaper reported that Zundel believes Germans are victims of a "Holocaust lie," eternally forced to pay for the "Zionists' program."

The details emerged from two videotapes screened Tuesday for Judge Werner Melder.

Also Tuesday, the judge cancelled rally of Zundel's neo-Nazi supporters.

They had planned to march in downtown Munich, but dozens gathered all day in the halls of a local court where Zundel was appealing charges of inciting racial hatred and defaming the memory of the dead.

He has been convicted of 210 counts of defamation that each carry a fine equivalent to \$100.

The 51-year-old German native is also appealing a 1988 conviction in Ontario of spreading false news by publishing literature that denies the Holocaust ever happened.

Zundel's next court appearance is Friday.

German court cuts Zündel's fine

Hate promoter not dangerous, judge rules

BERLIN (CP) — A Munich judge has convicted Toronto publisher Ernst Zündel of violating Germany's hate laws, but sharply reduced the fine he must pay.

On Monday, Zündel was found guilty of incitement to racial hatred and defaming the memory of the dead in connection with neo-Nazi videotapes he produced, which were distributed in Germany.

Zündel was ordered to pay the equivalent of \$9,000 Cdn.

Zündel was arrested and jailed for nearly a week on a visit to Germany last March and re-

turned to the state of Bavaria in November to appeal the conviction and fine of the equivalent of about \$25,000.

Zündel's lawyer Klaus Goebel said Tuesday that two of the three groups of charges for which Zündel was originally convicted and fined were overturned.

The charges were in connection with a newsletter sent to supporters.

What remained were convictions on charges involving videotapes, which were shown in court over several weeks this fall.

Goebel said he has already begun an appeal of this week's conviction, which will likely be heard next year.

The German news agency DPA reported Tuesday that the judge went easy on Zündel on the

grounds that the "overwhelming majority" of German citizens do not see Zündel as a "serious danger."

In 1988, Zündel was convicted in Ontario and sentenced to nine months in jail for "spreading false news."

He has appealed to the Supreme Court of Canada.

Zündel has challenged the

Criminal Code section on false news, under which he was convicted of publishing a pamphlet that said the mass extermination of Jews by Nazis in the Second World War was a hoax.

The section prohibits a person from publishing statements known to be false and that can cause injury or mischief to the public interest.

GERMANY

Toronto man has hate law fine reduced

VANCOUVER SUN - DEC. 16/91
Canadian Press

BERLIN — A Munich judge has convicted Toronto publisher Ernst Zündel of violating Germany's hate laws but sharply reduced the fine he must pay.

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ZÜNDEL

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In 1988, Zündel was convicted in Ontario and sentenced to nine months in jail for "spreading false news." He has appealed to the Supreme Court of Canada.

ATTENTION: ASSIGNMENT EDITORS AND TALK SHOW HOSTS!

Zündel cleared by highest court

'False news' law struck down under Charter of Rights

OTTAWA (CP) — Toronto publisher Ernst Zündel, convicted in 1988 for spreading false news about the holocaust, has been cleared of the same charge by the Supreme Court of Canada.

Zündel triumphed after urging under Supreme Court acquittal anti-hate law

Not 'open season' for Zündel, Jewish congress says

Supreme Court ruling overturning 1988 conviction prompts concerned groups to call for laying of new charges

Zündel wants Nobel Prize winner banned

The right to lie

The Supreme Court acquits Ernst Zundel

After nine years, two trials, four appeals and millions of dollars in legal costs, there are still no clear victors in the bitterly contested case of Toronto publisher Ernst Zundel. Ruling on an appeal by Zundel, the Supreme Court of Canada last week struck down his 1988 conviction for knowingly spreading false news about the Holocaust. In a 4-3 decision, the court found that section 181 of the Criminal Code, which

ruling on the case, the content of the communication under consideration—that is, Zundel's Holocaust fraud claims—was not relevant. She said that the Charter's free-speech provision included protection of minority beliefs which the majority (of society) regards as wrong or false. Added McLachlin, "The view of the majority has no need of constitutional protection; it is tolerated in any event."

It remained unclear last week whether the

said that further proceedings against Zundel would amount to "an abuse of process."

Zundel had been convicted twice under the false-news law. The first time was in Toronto in 1985, when he was sentenced to 15 months in jail for publishing a pamphlet which claimed that the Holocaust was a myth perpetrated by an international Jewish conspiracy. The Ontario Court of Appeal overturned that conviction, but ordered a new trial on the grounds that the judge had made mistakes. Convicted again in May, 1988, and sentenced to nine months in jail, Zundel went free on \$10,000 bail while appealing his case to the Ontario Court of Appeal.

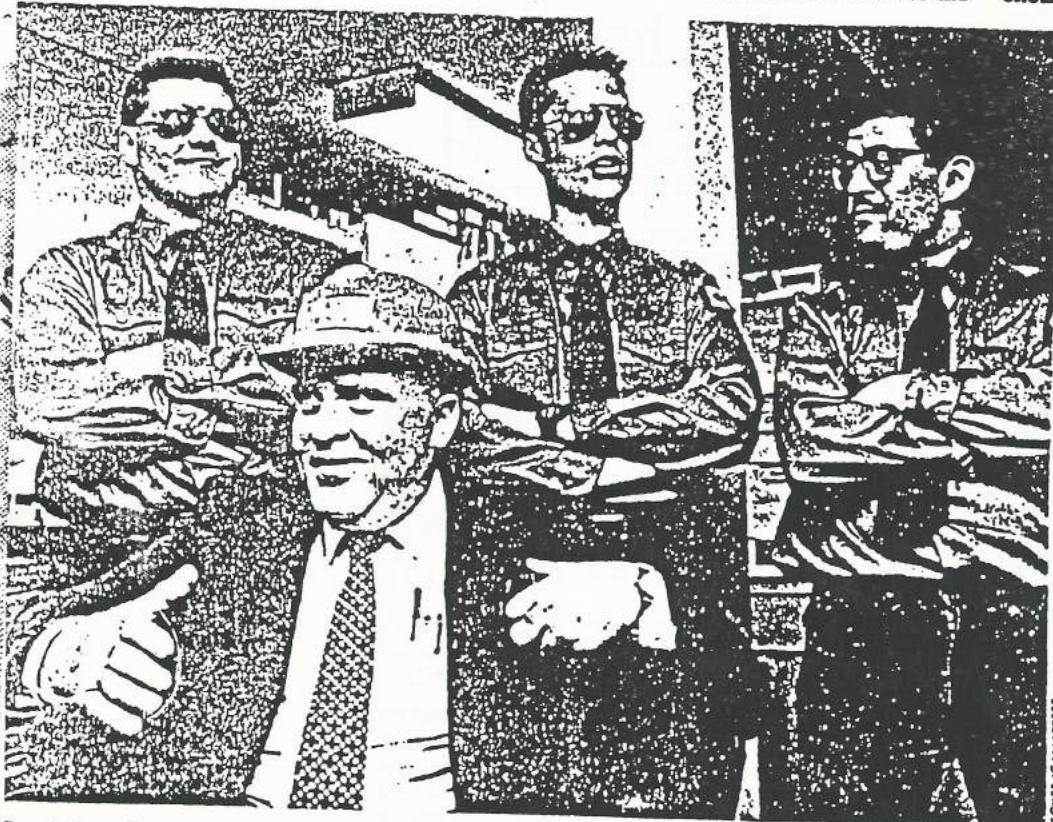
Last week, Christie said that he hoped to soon be back in Ottawa arguing before the Supreme Court on behalf of another client who claims that the Holocaust did not happen: James Keegstra, a former school teacher and one-time mayor of Eckville, a small farming community in central Alberta. In

1985, Keegstra, who taught students that the Holocaust was a Jewish hoax, was convicted in Red Deer, under the Criminal Code's prohibition of promoting hatred against an identifiable group. The Alberta Court of Appeal overturned the conviction, but it was reinstated by the Supreme Court, which held that the section was a justifiable limitation on Canadians' right to free speech. The Alberta Court of Appeal then ordered a new trial, partly on the ground that pre-trial publicity had prejudiced Keegstra's first trial. In July, the Alberta Court of Queen's Bench again convicted Keegstra of the same offence. Now Christie is waiting to see if the Supreme Court will hear another appeal, on grounds that Christie said may include incorrect directions to the jury by the trial judge, and the constitutionality of section 319.

Ultimately, Ottawa may have to enact new legislation to control the dissemination of some kinds of hate literature. In Toronto, Hampton said that officials of his ministry will meet with their federal counterparts "to discuss drafting a Charter-proof section of the Code" to deal with cases

like Zundel's. Added Hampton: "We don't yet know if that is possible." For his part, Alan Borovoy, Toronto-based general counsel for the Canadian Civil Liberties Association, said that he agreed with the Supreme Court's decision because the law posed a threat to legitimate forms of free speech. But he said that no one should interpret the court's decision as "vindicating the malevolent obscenities of a creep like Zundel." In the end, the Zundel ruling pointed to lawmakers' unresolved dilemma: how to guarantee freedom of expression while protecting groups of citizens from the slurs of their opponents.

PATRICIA CHISHOLM



Zundel and supporters: charging that accounts of the Holocaust were a Jewish hoax

prohibits the spreading of false news, is unconstitutional because it is an unjustifiable limit on the right to freedom of expression contained in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. A few hours after the ruling, Zundel, 53, was proclaiming that historical accounts of the Holocaust, in which an estimated six million Jews died at the hands of Germany's Second World War Nazi rulers, were a hoax perpetrated by a Jewish conspiracy. In response, the Canadian Jewish Congress called on Ontario Attorney General Howard Hampton to charge Zundel under section 319 of the Code, which prohibits spreading hate against identifiable groups.

Writing the court's majority decision, Madam Justice Beverley McLachlin noted that, in

German-born Zundel, who came to Canada in 1958, would face new charges. The Supreme Court judgment noted that another section of the Criminal Code, prohibiting the promotion of hatred against an identifiable group, could combat hate propaganda more fairly and effectively. In 1983, Holocaust survivor Sabina Citron asked then-Attorney General Roy McMurtry to charge Zundel under the anti-hate section. When he refused, apparently because he was not convinced that his department could win, she laid a private complaint under the false news section. (The anti-hate section does not provide for private charges.) The attorney general then decided to let the prosecution proceed. For his part, Douglas

run nazi run



GET ZUNDEL OUT!

The Zundel Affair

Background to the Case

A German citizen and landed immigrant in Canada, Ernst Zundel operated for years a publishing enterprise from his home in Toronto's Cabbagetown area. During the 1970's, he earned his living mainly as a photo-retoucher and picture-framer. Publishing was just a sideline. But, publishing gradually occupied more and more of his time until it became his principal activity.

His home included concrete fortifications, duplicating equipment for his many pamphlets, living space for his followers, and a camera to videotape visitors. The basement contained his pride and joy, a detailed scale model of the Auschwitz death camps. Zundel was fond of telling people that the scale model was essential for his "scientific" research and for his efforts to demonstrate that gassing did not occur.¹ His duplicating equipment enabled him to manufacture propaganda booklets extolling the Third Reich and Nazi ideals. These pamphlets were exported to 42 countries around the world, including West Germany, Sweden, and other jurisdictions in which their manufacture was restricted.²

Zundel's trial was held in Toronto in early 1985. On February 28th, a panel of twelve ordinary Canadians reached a verdict. The accused was convicted on one count of transgressing Section 177 of the Criminal Code of Canada. According to this longstanding and rarely used provison, "every one who wilfully publishes a statement, tale or news that he knows is false and that causes or is likely to cause injury or mischief to a public interest is guilty of an indictable offense and is liable to imprisonment for two years." On March 25th, Ernst Zundel was sentenced to 15 months in prison. After a hearing in May, Zundel was ordered deported. By autumn, his deportation order was in the process of being carried out.

Less than six weeks after Zundel's conviction, James Keegstra was brought to trial under a different section of the Criminal Code. Keegstra,

who testified for the defence in the Zundel trial, was a high school history teacher in Eckville, Alberta until January, 1984, when he was dismissed for unprofessional conduct. For twelve years, he indoctrinated his students with Jewish conspiracy explanations of history. His teaching included a denial of the historical facts of the Holocaust. An Alberta court sentenced Keegstra to five months in jail and a fine of \$5000 for the "willful promotion of hatred against Jews."

Other hate trials may take place in the years to come. In New Brunswick, a private citizen has been urging the provincial government to prosecute a publisher of hate propaganda under the Criminal Code.³ If other trials do take place, the Zundel trial will come to be viewed as the first in a series rather than a unique event. Whether the Zundel trial was a unique event or the first in a series, it was a very special event. The trial elicited an enormous amount of media attention. The defendant wanted it that way.

The Ontario Attorney General's office charged Zundel under section 177 of the Criminal Code because a Toronto lady, Sabina Citron, swore out a complaint against him under that section in 1983. A survivor of the death camps, Mrs. Citron and fellow members of the Canadian Holocaust Remembrance Association were concerned for years about the growth of hate propaganda in Canada. As Australia, Britain, Germany, Sweden and other countries enacted new laws or applied existing ones against hate literature, Canada gradually became a more important centre for the production of such works.

Sabina Citron had been active in the Holocaust committee of the Canadian Jewish Congress until 1978, when the two parted ways over the issue. The long established, respected Canadian Jewish Congress was cautious over the issue. It did not want to provide a platform for Nazis and it did not want to risk provoking a backlash. According to the irrepressible Mrs. Citron, it was simply a case of "some bad (Jewish) leaders." "Zundel's publications are hate propaganda and we don't have to tolerate it." According to the lady, Jews who are afraid to expose Zundel have a "galut" or diaspora mentality - they are willing to bow to any demand or persecution.⁴

Somewhere between the cautiousness of the Jewish Congress and the impatience of the Rememberance Association fell the League for Human Rights of B'nai Brith. Zundel was prosecuted and convicted under a section of the Criminal Code which outlaws the publication of false news against the public interest. Like the Canadian Jewish Congress, the B'nai Brith League wanted him charged under the hate propaganda section instead. Zundel was charged under the false news section (section 177) because prosecution under this section did not need the Attorney-General's consent. Prosecution under the hate propaganda section (281.2) needed the Attorney-General's approval.

Ontario's Attorney-General would not give his approval. He feared that the federal hate law was so badly drafted, so full of loopholes, that the devil himself would be found not guilty.⁵ In September, 1983, the League for Human Rights began a lobbying effort to persuade the federal Minister of Justice to remove loopholes in the law so that provincial Attorneys-General would be more willing to use it.

The actual charge against Zundel was based on two booklets, *The West, War, and Islam* and *Did Six Million Really Die?* Zundel published both while authoring only the former. The latter was a classic example of Holocaust denial literature. The authors of Holocaust denial literature describe themselves as "revisionists." The pamphlet simply stated that the Holocaust had never taken place. The myth of the Holocaust was fabricated by a Jewish conspiracy whose purpose was to extort money from the West German government and political support from Western countries.

The pamphlet, *The West, War, and Islam*, belonged to the genre of anti-Jewish writing known as the "new anti-Semitism." The "new" anti-Semitism employs anti-Zionism as a cloak for traditional anti-Jewish hate. Zionists are sometimes contrasted with Jews. Zionists are portrayed as militarists, racists, and manipulators of public opinion while Jews are nonpolitical and keep their religious beliefs to themselves. The new anti-Semites sometimes indicate that they are not anti-Jewish, only anti-Zionist. Jews may be tolerable so long as they do not inhabit Israel and feel no affection for the country.⁶

Zundel's pamphlet, *The West, War and Islam*, lacked the subtle qualifier that Jews may be acceptable if they would only repudiate Zionism. A passage from the pamphlet spoke of "vicious, greedy and militant people who call themselves 'Jews' . . . as 'God's Chosen People.' Ever since 1945, the Zionists and their hirelings have used their self-serving myth as a tool for the deception of the Western Christian masses . . . Western Christians have become circumcised mentally and physically."⁷

Zundel's two pamphlets reflected a world view which he would articulate whenever he was given an opportunity. To whomever would listen, Zundel insisted that the mountains of evidence about the existence of the Holocaust were bogus. When a student reporter pointed to *The Diary of Anne Frank* as evidence, Zundel insisted that it was a fraud. Zundel claimed that West German forensic experts had proven that it was written in 1951 and in ball-point pen, a post-war invention. Hence, Anne had to have survived the war.⁸ Zundel did not explain how the diary could have been written in 1951 in view of the fact that it was first published in 1947. Nor did he attempt to explain away the considerable documentary evidence that the fifteen year old girl was shipped to her death in 1944.

A prolific writer and publisher, Zundel espoused not only Holocaust

denial and anti-Zionism, but Nazism as well. Writing under a pen name, Christof Frederich (his middle names), Zundel co-authored *The Hitler We Loved and Why*, a book published in the United States by White Power Publications. The book referred to the Fuhrer as "this humble, totally dedicated savior. . . We love him still." A photograph featured the Rev. Martin Luther King receiving an award from Rabbi Jacob Rothschild with the caption "The Face of the Enemy." Zundel rarely suppressed his enthusiasm for Hitler. During the trial, Zundel told an interviewer that the Fuhrer was "the democrats' democrat . . . the Abraham Lincoln of Germany."¹⁰

Zundel and Keegstra were closely linked to an extremist network coordinated by Willis A. Carto. A one-time organizer for the John Birch Society, Carto established the racist Liberty Lobby in Washington in 1961. In California, he created the Institute for Historical Review, the leading source of Holocaust denial literature. Calling history books on the Holocaust "atrocious propaganda," the Institute offered a \$50,000 award to anyone who could provide evidence that the event took place. The publicity effort boomeranged when a survivor of the death camps actually applied for the award. In July, 1985, lawyers for the Institute for Historical Review hurried to reach a financial settlement with the survivor before the case could reach the courts.

Under various organizational guises, Willis Carto published a number of different periodicals and books. One periodical, *Western Destiny*, extoled the Nordic mystique. A 600 page book, *Imperium*, bemoaned the threat to civilization posed by humanism, capitalism, and democracy. It warned against Black and other "culture distorters" spawned by the "church, state, nation, race of the Jews." In a November, 1982 issue of his periodical, *Spotlight*, Carto wrote that the Korean, Viet-Nam and 1939-45 wars all took place because of the "triple-headed bloody beast" of international capitalism, international communism, and international political zionism. Elsewhere, Carto wrote that "Hitler's defeat was a defeat of Europe and America." International Jews had blinded the West. Instead of being the victims of World War II, Jews were the master manipulators of the conflagration. Using a theme with a medieval pedigree, Carto declared that Jews were so bad that Satan himself may have invented them.¹⁰

Holocaust Denial in Historical Perspective

There is a considerable history to the idea that Jews are not really victims, but master conspirators who pretend to be victims for machiavellian reasons. The modern roots of the idea of Jew as master manipulator lie in the book, *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. As Europe encountered the growing pains of urbanization, industrialization, and secularism, conspiracy theories

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abounded. Among Catholic countries, conspiracy theories often involved Free Masons. Among Protestant countries, conspiracies were allegedly master-minded by a secret sect of Jesuit priests. Among both Catholic and Protestant countries, conspiracy theories often featured Jews in league with the devil. Medieval art often portrayed Jews and the devil as having the same features. For example, both were thought to have red hair. The medieval fantasy of a Jewish/demonic conspiracy against Christendom has been called "a warrant for genocide."¹¹ The *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* was a widely read document which allegedly proved the existence of an international Jewish conspiracy.

A fraud first manufactured and distributed by the Czarist secret police in about the year 1900, the *Protocols* was presented as evidence that Jewish leaders from around the globe met in Switzerland in secret to plot the financial and political exploitation of the world. The *Protocols* were supposedly the minutes of such a meeting. In fact, the *Protocols* were largely plagiarized from a French political satire of Napoleon III which was not concerned with Jews.¹² During the dying days of the Czarist regime, the *Protocols* were widely disseminated in an attempt to persuade Russians to hold Jews rather than the regime itself responsible for the regime's failures and the people's misfortunes.

Beginning in the late 19th century, Europeans who were anti-Jewish began calling themselves "anti-Semites." Self-styled anti-Semitic political parties flourished in central Europe in the late 1920's and 1930's. Pseudogenetic writing by French Count Arthur de Gobineau inspired the new term. In his *Essay on the Inequality of Human Races* (circa 1852), Gobineau warned that Europe could only remain proud if it remained racially pure. "Nordic-Aryan" Europe would degenerate if it permitted itself to be "nigridized" or "semitized". The most purely Aryan segment of Europe was the aristocracy. Gobineau's book became a success among the upper classes, which welcomed any idea which could be used to justify their superiority.

For the upper classes of Europe in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the genius of the concept of anti-semitism was that it accomplished several political objectives at once. The term itself provided a modern, pseudo-scientific gloss for an old-fashioned religious and political tradition. During the middle ages, rulers used theologically inspired dislike of Judaism to explain calamities which medical science could not yet explain. The plague and other epidemics were often blamed on Jews, who were said to have poisoned the wells.¹³ After 1850, Europe's upper classes had a more pressing calamity to explain - the growing popular belief in democracy and equality. For the privileged classes, attacking Jews would kill many birds with one stone. Anti-Judaism could be used to justify the principle of inequality since one group

at least could be shown to be inherently undeserving. Liberal and socialist parties demanding equality rights could be branded as semitic, especially if they had any Jewish leaders. Liberals and socialists might even be sidetracked into attacking Jews instead of the privileged strata. Finally, the upper classes could use anti-Judaism as a means of creating an emotional bond with the middle and lower strata.

"Anti-semitism" is a relatively recent, pseudo-scientific term conjured up to give a new vigour to the old-fashioned animosity towards Jews. In our book, we speak of anti-Judaism, which describes the subject more simply and more accurately. It is a testimony to its power that anti-Jewish thought in Western civilization is best known by the term which was invoked in the 19th century to justify it.

In the 19th and 20th centuries, anti-Judaism found its greatest expression in countries lacking a strong democratic political tradition. Like the upper classes of Europe whose interests they often represented, Europe's dictatorships were attracted to anti-Judaism as a versatile political weapon.¹⁴ Anti-Judaism could be used to sidetrack criticism of a regime or to cause fear and hysteria in the general population.

Both the Nazi regime and the Soviet regime employed anti-Judaism to deflect criticism away from themselves and to arouse a sense of panic and anxiety which could be used for political purposes. In the end, the German regime went the full length of organizing and carrying out a program of liquidation. Under Stalin, Moscow almost went as far.

In Russia, the political use of anti-Judaism peaked at the end of the Czarist regime, went into abeyance under V.I. Lenin, and then returned under Joseph Stalin during the 1930's. By creating a widespread hysteria about Jews, Stalin struck fear in the hearts of both Jewish and non-Jewish subordinates. Stalin's non-Jewish officials worried that something they said, did, or thought might offend the party secretary, be labelled as Jewish, and lead to their demise. During World War II, Stalin ordered the extermination of the Tatars and other small nationalities occupying the Crimean peninsula, alleging that they were fifth columnists plotting with capitalist armies poised to invade Russia. After the war, Stalin charged Russian Jews with seeking to establish a "bourgeois-zionist" republic in the same area, for the same treacherous purpose. He also accused Jewish physicians of plotting with the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency to poison patriotic Russians by pharmaceutical means. "Murderers in white gowns," he called them. Shortly before his death, Stalin undertook plans for the wholesale relocation and presumably liquidation of the Soviet Jewish population.

Soviet Communist Party Secretary Nikita Khrushchev and Stalin's other successors have had more traditional and modest goals, to use anti-Judaism

in order to manage their political opposition. Ukrainians were told that their misfortunes were not the fault of the Kremlin or party but of Jews undermining the system.¹⁵ Poles were told to blame the country's agricultural shortfalls on Rabbis, who allegedly existed in large numbers and sequestered meat. In order to create a gulf between Lech Walensa's Solidarity free trade union movement and the Polish Catholic sub-culture which nurtured it, the Soviet and Polish secret police disseminated broadsheets claiming that Solidarity's leaders were actually Jewish.

Both the Soviet and German Nazi regime employed anti-Judaism as an instrument of foreign policy, especially in the oil-rich middle east. The themes and content of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* migrated to the Arab world during the 1930's as a result of German propaganda efforts. The pamphlet itself was widely distributed. Nazi agents provocateurs encouraged Arabs to believe in the existence of a world-wide Jewish conspiracy involving Winston Churchill, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and the Rockefeller family, all of whom were allegedly Jewish. The idea that the Rockefellers, who are Baptist, are central to an international Jewish conspiracy appeared later in Soviet anti-Jewish propaganda. The middle east was receptive to these ideas for a multitude of reasons. Some of these factors were the rise of Arab nationalism, Islamic revivalism, anti-British and anti-French feelings engendered by the colonial experience, and a sense of outrage that a Jewish and hence non-Moslem state could be created in the midst of the Arab, Moslem civilization.

After World War II, many Nazi agents acquired positions in the propaganda and secret police services of the Syrian, Egyptian, and other Arab governments. Saudi Arabia and its neighbours became major centres for the multilingual publication and dissemination of the *Protocols*. During his trial, Ernst Zundel revealed that he had published *The West, War, and Islam* in the hope of securing financial assistance from like-minded people in the middle east. Zundel was not apparently very successful at acquiring financial support in that region of the world. But, Arab governments did undertake their own efforts to disseminate anti-Jewish views in Canada. In 1985, copies of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* were available for sale at 50 cents per copy at nine Canadian campuses thanks to subsidies from middle eastern governments.

The Trial

As seen through the lens of media coverage of the courtroom drama, Ernst Zundel held the lead role. The spotlight focussed on his sworn testimony, his comments to the press, and on his dramatic entrances to and exits from

the court. Major supporting roles were given to the solicitors for the defence and for the Crown. Bit parts went to the witnesses for the defence and for the prosecution.

Zundel insisted that he was a fervent pacifist with not an iota of ill-will or hatred towards anyone. He started out, he said, with no views about Jews and certainly no anti-Jewish prejudice. Not all Jews are necessarily bad, in his view. He was interested only in a careful, dispassionate consideration of the facts. The facts he described were vile. Zundel claimed that his extensive research demonstrated that the Holocaust had never taken place, that six million Jews had never died. Jews fabricated the death and torture of their co-religionists in order to acquire political and financial advantage. By persuading people that European Jews had been exterminated, Israel was able to secure Western sympathies while individual Jews were able to extort reparations from the West German government.

Zundel used the services of friendly witnesses from his international network to strengthen the impression that his understanding of European history derived from a consideration of evidence. Zundel's witnesses discussed whether or not gas chambers existed, whether camp inmates were happy, and whether the inmates enjoyed swimming and ballroom dances. The defence witnesses' portrayal of the facts was readily conveyed by the media. "No gas chambers in Nazi Germany, expert witness testifies" was one headline in Toronto's *Globe and Mail*. "Women happy at Auschwitz, trial told" was another *Globe* heading; the subheading was "Guards respectful, ex-soldier says." At the *Toronto Sun*, a headline declared "Auschwitz called fake" with the subheading "Nazi camp had 'pool, ballroom'." Zundel and his solicitor sought to leave the impression that the defence was merely offering another possible scholarly interpretation of the Hitler era. "Lawyer challenges crematoria theory" was one of the *Globe*'s headings.

The defence examined the extermination process in macabre detail. Can the chemical zyklon-B (i.e. cyanide) kill people? Could the Auschwitz chambers have really gassed 2000-3000 persons at a time? Would this volume of activity have taken as much as three and a half weeks? What was the colour of the smoke emerging from the camp smokestacks? Do corpses actually smell when incinerated? Were the lampshades truly made of human skin? Did the inmates of Auschwitz hold ballroom dances? Did the camps have fences to prevent the inmates from escaping or were the fences erected to stop outsiders from joining their privileged existence? These were some of the ostensibly objective, scientific questions which Zundel and his supporters claimed to be interested in.

Like ghost stories, Zundel's words elicited media interest by virtue of their sheer ghouliness. Even when discussing questions which by

themselves were not macabre, Zundel and his supporters managed to use imagery of death and domination. Speaking of his native West Germany, Zundel said that the democratic system created after World War II was run by quizzlings and apologists populating a "political cemetery." Zundel wanted to free "Aryans" (i.e. white Christians) from "the shackles of lies and brain manipulation" caused by a conspiracy of Communists, fellow-travellers, Freemasons, and Zionists in the mass media. Jews controlled the world through their alleged control of such newspapers as the *Washington Post* and through their alleged control of the Masonic lodges. As evidence that Masonic lodges manipulated the United States, Zundel pointed to alleged masonic symbols on the American dollar bill and to George Washington's alleged membership in a lodge. Zundel feared that white people - Aryans - would remain forever "mental slaves" unless they turned to him for help. One of his supporters, a community college teacher from Alberta, told the court that those in his province who dared to question the Holocaust were socially "anaesthetized," meaning presumably that they were ostracized.

One defence witness with a particularly macabre tale was Ditleib Felderer, a convicted hate-mongerer who flew in from his native Sweden to lend assistance. During his period on the witness stand, Felderer told the court about his many pamphlets. One of them, ostensibly written by a little girl, contained sketches of children surrounding the text. It asked Auschwitz museum authorities to explain why they are trying to convince children that their displays are true. A flyer invited readers to send a lock of human or animal hair to the camp museum so that it would have some authentic hair for its displays.

The two solicitors in the trial received considerable media coverage especially during their summations at the end. Zundel's counsel was Douglas Christie, a Victoria, B.C. lawyer. Christie had previously been leader of Western Canada Concept, an unsuccessful separatist party in the Western provinces. Zundel hired Christie after seeing him represent Keegstra at a hearing in October, 1984 in Red Deer, Alberta. When he agreed to represent Zundel, Christie announced that he did so solely because he believed that the case involved an important matter of principle - freedom of speech. During the trial itself, the defence counsel alternated between declaring that his client had a right to express his opinion and declaring that his client's opinion was in fact the right one to express.

The Crown attorney was a careful, competent solicitor named Peter Griffiths, who received far less media coverage than the more theatrical Christie. For Christie, the Zundel case was all consuming. Griffiths had a wide range of other pressing obligations in his role as a Crown prosecutor. From the outset, Griffiths was keenly aware of the limited time he could

devote to the case, of his limited budgetary resources, and of his limited familiarity with hate propaganda and the Holocaust. He became increasingly concerned that an acquittal by a Canadian court might invigorate the international hate network. The Crown attorney spent many evenings and nights reading scholarly works and government documents on the Holocaust to the point where his detailed knowledge amazed many well informed spectators in the courtroom. He also made careful use of expert advice whenever he could secure it. During the preparations leading up to the trial and during the trial itself, Griffiths sought and received advice from many Jewish and non-Jewish groups and individuals. Within days of being assigned the case, Griffiths began receiving assistance from the B'nai Brith League for Human Rights with respect to identifying witnesses and evaluating evidence.

The trial stretched out over a seven week period. In his concluding remarks to the jury, the Crown attorney called the defendant a dangerous Nazi sympathizer whose innate shrewdness distinguished him from the "band of crazies, misfits and frustrated men" who call themselves Holocaust revisionists. "This man is not only clever, he's dangerous," said Peter Griffiths. "Beneath the dimples, I suggest, is a ruthless and determined man." "What is the major stumbling block to the rehabilitation of the Nazis?" he asked the jury. "I'd suggest it is the Holocaust. So long as the greatest inhumanity man has ever done to man exists as a historically accepted fact in the minds of men, the Nazis can never be rehabilitated. He must get rid of it. So he published a pamphlet replete with lies."

Defence counsel Douglas Christie spoke about the principles of freedom of speech and freedom of belief. Advancing an argument which he would later use to defend James Keegstra, Christie insisted that the right to minority opinions was at stake. "What are we - lobotomized idiots that we can only accept the viewpoint of the majority? . . . Do we have to learn the same lessons all over again every generation? Do we never entrench the right to differ?" Zundel, according to his counsel, was another Galileo, who dared to utter the heresy that the world was round. "For the sake of freedom, I ask you never to forget what is at stake here. The accused stands in the place of anyone who desire to speak their mind. Even if you don't agree with him, you must take it as a sacred responsibility not to allow the suppression of someone else's honest opinion." The interpretation of history is necessarily controversial. According to the lawyer for the defence, it is not for the courts to decide which interpretation is correct and which is false. A guilty verdict would be frighteningly destructive of the democratic process. A guilty verdict would leave dissidents with a narrow choice between silence and violence.

Concluding his address to the jury, defence council Christie insisted that his client was expressing not only an honest opinion but a correct one as well.

The arguments presented in Zundel's booklets were well founded. How could a group of people as numerous as the population of Toronto have been killed at Auschwitz without there being, he said, direct evidence? The lawyer for the defence called upon Jews to accept disagreement. "Stop seeing Nazis every time there is a criticism of Judaism." Christie called upon Jews to accept that the Holocaust did not happen as they think it did. Christie jolted the packed courtroom when his voice rose to a crescendo. "There are powers in this land that don't want you to know the truth about it," he roared.

Crown counsel Peter Griffiths insisted that freedom of speech was not at issue in the trial. Democratic societies encourage freedom of speech, but they cannot permit absolute freedom. "Absolute freedom is another way of talking about tyranny. If I have absolute freedom to do anything I please then I can shoot you, rob you or cheat you. That is not the way to run society. My freedom is your slavery." The prosecutor's argument about freedom's not being an issue was pointedly endorsed by the presiding judge. In his charge to the jury, District Court Judge Hugh Locke stated that the Criminal Code does not prohibit "back-fence gossip" or legitimate debate. But, declared the Judge, all societies need certain restrictions on freedom of speech.

Crown lawyer Griffiths argued that immense harm was done by a single pamphlet, *Did Six Million Really Die?* "Anyone reading this article and believing it to be true couldn't help but loathe Jews. You would see all Jews as world-destroyers bent on chaos." How could any Jew who survived the Holocaust or whose relatives perished greet a booklet suggesting that it never happened? Or, an article that said the Jews of the world are trading on a mythical event to gain war reparations? "Such an article spits on the memory of their loved ones and denies them the dignity of their grief. The memory of those millions demands that the truth of this era forever prevail." Zundel himself was no colourful eccentric or harmless crank but a racist, "a racist who is a determined defamer of the Jewish people."

The implications of the trial are universal, concluded prosecutor Griffiths. "This isn't a case involving just Jews and Germans. It involves all of us." Publications which deny that the Holocaust ever took place must be confronted to make sure that humans "never go down that terrible road again." "Today it's the Jews who are slandered. Tomorrow - the Catholics, the blacks, or me."

Debating the Advisability of Prosecuting Zundel

If one may judge by newspaper commentaries and letters-to-the-editor, the seven week trial engendered a great deal of concern among journalists, professors, and lawyers, especially in English Canada. Many opinion-makers wrote as if they found themselves in a catch-22 situation. On the one hand, they felt that Zundel did not deserve the respect from the law which he received and the large public expenditure entailed in a full-fledged trial. On the other hand, they felt uncomfortable at the precedent for freedom of speech which might be established should he be convicted. Some opinion-makers were concerned that the law was being used to rectify the mistakes of education. If Canadians had learned the facts of the Holocaust in school, it might be less necessary to employ the law to silence the hate-mongerers.

Some opinion-makers were also concerned about the consequences of an unsuccessful prosecution. An acquittal would embolden Nazis. Although an acquittal would likely be reached on the basis of a concern for freedom of speech, hatemongers would likely misrepresent the court's decision as support for Holocaust denial. In the aftermath of Zundel's conviction, Crown prosecutor Peter Griffiths expressed considerable personal concern about the harm which would result from an acquittal in this or any other hate propaganda case.¹⁶ As Griffiths and others have pointed out, Canadian hate legislation favours the defence. The crown must prove that the accused *knowingly* told harmful untruths or *knowingly* fomented hatred. It is much easier to persuade a jury that an accused told harmful lies or caused hatred than that the accused did so knowingly.

During the first weeks of the trial, so much concern was expressed about the advisability of the prosecution that it almost seemed as if prosecutor Peter Griffiths or the Attorney-General of the Ontario was the villain of the piece rather than the accused. Reporting at the conclusion of the trial, a staff writer for Ottawa's *Citizen* noted that most lawyers and experts believed that the case should never have gone to trial.¹⁷ The Director of Communications for the League for Human Rights of B'nai Brith was reported by the *Globe and Mail* as acknowledging that many people with whom she had discussed the matter, Jewish and Christian alike, opposed the prosecution.¹⁸ University of Western Ontario Law Professor Robert Martin declared that "it was profoundly stupid to charge Zundel."¹⁹ He should simply have been deported. Longtime Tory grey eminence Dalton Camp said that it had been a grave mistake. "In the zealous attempt to prosecute a fool for his beliefs we make fools of ourselves."²⁰

Alan Borovoy, general counsel to the Canadian Civil Liberties Association, said flatly that "acquitted or convicted, it was a most unwise prosecution."²¹ He worried that the trial would have a chilling effect on legitimate historical discussions. Borovoy conceded that Zundel represented a clear case where almost everyone could agree with respect to the evil motives of the accused. However, he was concerned about more ambiguous cases in the future. He was also concerned about providing Zundel with a platform. The trial gave "legitimacy . . . to a very illegitimate organization. Legitimacy has been conferred on garbage." Borovoy observed that the word "theory was now widely used to describe crematoria. Understood as a fact 40 years ago, the existence of crematoria now becomes a theory." The death camps are now portrayed as Jewish country clubs, all "at public expense."

Fear that the trial would gain publicity for the Nazis and confer legitimacy on them was the single most widespread reason for being against the trial. Former national secretary of the New Democratic Party Gerald Caplan opposed the prosecution because he felt that Zundel and his ilk should be "left under the boulders where they belong."²² Prosecution was "a terrible, terrible blunder." Toronto's scholar-rabbi-journalist, Gunther Plaut, opposed the prosecution for much the same reason. He was perturbed that Zundel had been afforded the legitimacy of a hearing in court. "I think it was an error, regardless of how it comes out. Even if the jury convicts, I'm not happy. The pseudo-legitimacy they have been given is very harmful."²³

After the jury reached its verdict, *Toronto Star* columnist Frank Jones described at length why the trial would do harm. The guilty verdict was better than a not guilty verdict, but it was "no triumph." The damage was done. "*Quietly, like a thief in the night, the insidious ideas of Zundel and his gang have sneaked their way into the consciousness of the young who may not know better and into the minds of some of their elders grasping for any straw to justify their prejudices.*" According to columnist Jones, the trial provided an unsurpassed grandstand. "It was an opportunity to spread his lies far and wide. And so we had first the revolting spectacle of Holocaust survivors being grilled and belittled in the witness box. And then, for three weeks, we were treated to a sort of academic debate in which bogus experts were accorded respect, just like learned professors earnestly debating the Punic wars of ancient Greece."²⁴

The ideal that the trial gained exposure for Nazism was accepted as axiomatic among both supporters and opponents of bringing the case to trial. Sabina Citron and other Rememberance Association activists did not dispute the view that the trial would and did provide Zundel with immense publicity. They believed that Zundel had already done serious harm. In their view, leaving the propaganda unchallenged for years enabled it to become increasingly

inflammatory.²⁵ "Everyone knows what unchecked hate propaganda can lead to." Assuming that it would eventually become necessary to confront the Holocaust denial propagandists at some time in some fashion, it was better to hold a trial early while some Holocaust survivors were still able to testify. Supporters of the prosecution also took the view that it was better to confront the revisionists before they became too numerous.

Most proponents as well as opponents of prosecution talked about the public impact of the trial as if the public consisted of an indistinguishable mass of likeminded people. One important exception was David Humphrey, the Toronto lawyer who acted for the Rememberance Association. He conceded that the trial gave free publicity to the defendant. But, he distinguished between the trial's impact on extremists and on reasonable people. "Of course, he's won," said lawyer Humphrey of Zundel. "If he gets a year in jail, he's won. He got international press. His name is a household word. He has won to the subculture who thinks he has won, but to right-thinking people, he's lost."²⁶ Alan Shefman of the League for Human Rights of B'nai Brit also expressed doubt that Zundel was quite as clever as many people thought he was. Shefman opined that Zundel had won "one million dollars of notoriety."²⁷

Perhaps the most thoughtful commentary on the whole episode was by Robert Fulford, editor of Canada's pre-eminent journal of arts and letters. In an article in *Saturday Night*, Fulford wrote that liberal democracies have enormous difficulty dealing with genuine evil.²⁸ We do not know how to react and therefore become confused. If our legal system ignores our hate mongers, the hate mongers are given implicit legitimacy. But, if they are brought to trial, they must be given a respectful hearing as if they were motivated by high principles, which they are not.

A journalist himself, Fulford expressed the view that the practice of journalism is a vital aspect of the problem, as important as the legal system. Fulford agreed with Zundel's own assessment that the trial had generated "one million dollars of free publicity." According to Fulford, the enormous uncritical publicity which Zundel received from the trial was a direct result of the rigid conventions of journalism, which hold that the press should report only what happens in public. Extremists are able to gain exposure for repeated lies because their lies are not evaluated for their truthfulness. As journalism is practiced, the task of the reporter is to convey what a newsworthy person has said in public and not to transmit information which might help evaluate the truthfulness of what is said.

Fulford compared the role of journalism in the rise of U.S. Senator Joseph McCarthy, the leader of the anti-Communist witch-hunt in the 1950's, with the role of journalism in legitimating Zundel's Holocaust fabrications. Joseph McCarthy repeatedly proclaimed that he had long lists of crypto-Communists

in the highest echelons of the United States government. McCarthy had no such names. He was bluffing. But, uncritical media reports on his speeches helped to create a mood of national paranoia. The Canadian press fulfilled much the same role during the Zundel trial, said Fulford, because it reported both sides as if each were credible. Thus, when France's convicted hate mongerer, Rober Faurisson, testified, the *Globe and Mail*'s headline was "No gas chambers in Nazi Germany, expert says." Fulford did not go so far as to suggest that the Canadian media created a climate of Holocaust denial akin to the anti-Communist hysteria generated by Joseph McCarthy in the 1950's. But, Fulford did say that whatever inroads were made by Zundel among the Canadian public were a result of the rigid conventions of the media.

Many commentators on the trial discussed the trial's impact on public attitudes towards Jews or Nazis. Few people speculated about the trial's impact on public attitudes towards Germans or German Canadians. A notable and distinguished exception was Peter Hessel, an author and German-born public servant working for the Canadian government.²⁹ Hessel expressed no sympathy for Zundel. He noted that Zundel's fellow extremists had been sentenced to prison in West Germany. Hessel was profoundly concerned that the trial would succeed in tarring all German Canadians with the same brush. Ashamed of both Zundel and the war crimes, Hessel worried that Zundel's grandstanding would set back the efforts of German Canadians to regain the respect which they had lost as a result of the Holocaust.

The central motivation for our research project was to find out what truly happened in the mind of the Canadian public. Did support for the Nazi perspective grow as a result of the trial and as a result of media coverage of the trial? Did more Canadians become prejudiced against Jews as a result of the affair? How were attitudes towards Germans affected? What specific roles did television and the press have in shaping Canadian attitudes? Were the media as harmful as many people, including journalists, feared? Was it a case of "one million dollars worth of publicity" or "one million dollars worth of notoriety"?

As we thought more and more about our project, it occurred to us that our research findings could have general ramifications for the advisability of holding any hate propaganda trial. Although Jews have been a major target of hatred, in North America they are not the sole target of hate. Native people, Chinese and Japanese Canadians, Canadians of East Indian origin, blacks, Franco-Ontarians, Roman Catholics and other groups have been the target of victimization in various provinces at various times in Canadian history.

As we thought more and more about the project, it occurred to us that the trial's impact on public opinion ought to be examined in a broad context. What kinds of Canadians were traditionally prejudiced against Jews and what

kinds were traditionally unprejudiced? Did the trial affect all Canadians in a similar fashion? Or, did some Canadians become more prejudiced while others became less prejudiced? Did the trial affect the attitudes of Canadians towards the Jews of the Holocaust only, or did it also affect attitudes towards Jews as Canadians? These are some of the research questions for which we sought answers.

¹ Unless otherwise indicated, all quotes in this chapter are drawn from the *Info-Globe* retrieval service of the *Globe and Mail*.

² Crown prosecutor Peter Griffiths, address to the University of Ottawa Law Faculty, October, 1985.

³ In 1978, Julius Israeli, a Holocaust survivor and former university professor, began his longterm efforts to bring the force of law against school teacher Malcolm Ross. Ross' book *The Web of Deceit* and his pamphlet *Christianity vs. Judeo-Christianity - the Battle for the Truth* warn against an international communist-Jewish conspiracy. His book *The Real Holocaust, the Attack on Unborn Children and Life Itself* portrays the pro-abortion movement as an international Jewish conspiracy to depopulate white Christian civilization.

⁴ *Globe and Mail*, February 28th, 1985, p. 1.

⁵ See "Racial tolerance the winner in Zundel case," *Toronto Star*, March 2nd, 1985, by Harold Levy, editor of the Criminal Lawyers' Association Newsletter.

⁶ McGill University Professors Ruth Wisse and Irwin Cotler distinguish between "classical anti-Semitism, which denied the equal rights of Jews as citizens within a free society (and) . . . 'new' anti-Semitism, which denies the equal right of the Jewish people as a lawful sovereignty within the family of nations. "Quebec's Jews: Caught in the Middle," *Commentary* 64 (1977) 3, 58.

⁷ See Robert Fulford's discussion in *Saturday Night* (June, 1985).

⁸ Carleton University *Charlatan* (March 14th, 1985), p. 12

⁹ Carleton University's *Charlatan* (March 14th, 1985), p. 12

¹⁰ This brief overview of Carto's network was made possible by information supplied by Alan Shefman of B'nai Brith's League for Human Rights. The climate of opinion encouraged by Carto's publications helped to make possible the growth of the violent neo-Nazi Order or Silent Brotherhood in the United States. By coincidence, during the course of the Zundel trial in Toronto, the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation undertook a sweep of Nazis in seven states. The FBI sought a number of fugitives for their role in bank robberies, undertaken to finance their "war" against the U.S. government, which these groups considered to be under Jewish control. The police held the Order responsible for the assassination of Alan Berg. Until his death, Berg was a talk show host in Denver, Colorado, well known for his sympathy for the Black civil rights movement. The Order reportedly murdered one of their own members who was suspected of acting for the FBI. *New York Times*, March 3rd, 1985, p. 20

¹¹ Norman Cohn, *Warrant for Genocide: the Myth of the Jewish World Conspiracy and the Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (London: Penguin, 1970). See also Alan Davies, "On Religious Myths and their Secular Translation: Some Historical Reflections" in Alan T. Davies, ed., *Anti-Semitism and the Foundations of Christianity* (Toronto: Paulist Press, 1979).

¹² James Parkes, *Anti-Semitism* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969), chapter IV on "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion."

¹³ The poisoning of wells and other medieval anti-Jewish themes persist in the Soviet press today. For example, after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, Soviet newspapers carried cartoons of Israeli soldiers pouring cannisters marked poison into Lebanese wells.

¹⁴ In his study of the first eight centuries of Christian history, James Parkes also found a pattern whereby repressive measures against Jews were more apt to be taken by unpopular rulers than by popular ones. See his *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), p. 349.

¹⁵ See the intriguing essays in Howard Aster and Peter J. Potichnyj, *Jewish Ukrainian Relations: Two Solitudes* (Oakville: Mosaic Press, 1983).

¹⁶ Address, University of Ottawa Law Faculty, October, 1985. A similar point has frequently been made by David Matas, counsel to the B'nai Brith League for Human Rights.

¹⁷ March 2nd, 1985, p. B1.

¹⁸ This statement appeared in the edition of February 28th, p. 1, but was apparently made several weeks earlier.

¹⁹ *Citizen*, March 2nd, 1985, p. B1.

²⁰ *Saturday Night*, June, 1985, p. 8.

²¹ *Citizen*, March 2nd, 1985, p. B1.

²² *Saturday Night*, June, 1985, p. 8.

²³ *Globe and Mail*, February 28th, 1985, p. 1.

²⁴ *Toronto Star*, March 1st, 1985.

²⁵ *Citizen*, March 2nd, 1985, p. B1.

²⁶ *Globe and Mail*, February 28th, 1985, p. 1.

²⁷ "Cross-Country Checkup," CBC radio, March 3rd, 1985.

²⁸ Peter Hessel, "Herr Zundel, you're in an enemy world," *Citizen*, Weekend Observer, March 9th, 1985.

HATE ON TRIAL

THE ZUNDEL AFFAIR

THE MEDIA

PUBLIC OPINION IN CANADA

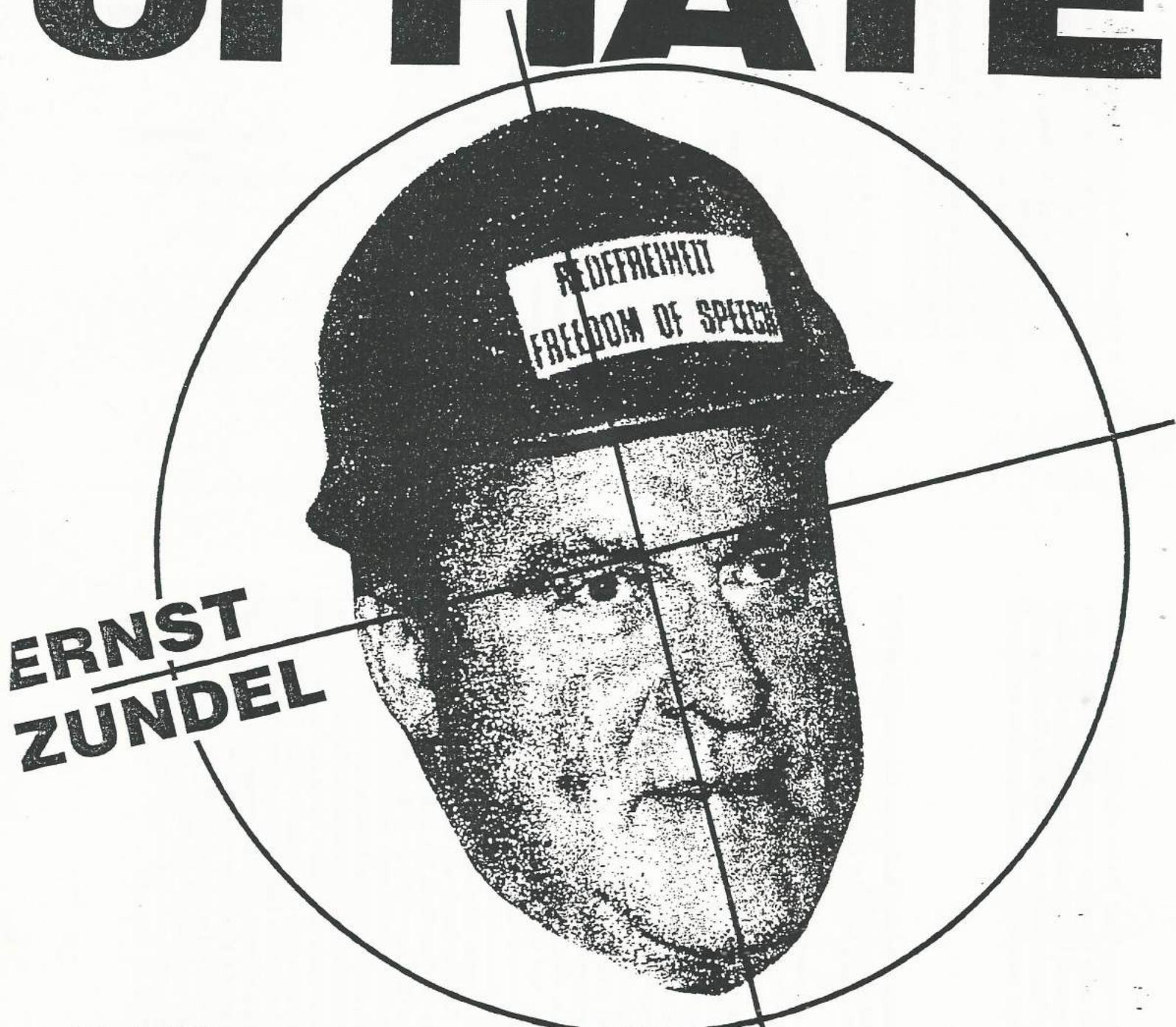
Gabriel Weimann
and
Conrad Winn

MOSAIC PRESS

Zündel's Gotta Go!



"GURU" OF HATE



**YOUR DAYS ARE
NUMBERED.**

ALL YOU NEED IS HATE

Extremist groups have found a niche on U.S. public-access cable channels, arousing protests and pitting community standards against the First Amendment

By RICHARD ZOGLIN

TO THINK SOME PEOPLE STILL GET EXERCISED over the right-wing talk-show host Rush Limbaugh. They have obviously never run across Dr. Herbert Poinsett. A square-jawed, balding former chiropractor, Poinsett is host of a program based in Tampa, Florida, that is seen across the U.S. With Nazi and Confederate flags as backdrop, he rails against everything from the Jewish-controlled media to "black bucks" taking over America's cities. A typical Poinsett point: serial killers are mostly white because "blacks don't have the brains to be serial killers."

Nor are fans of TV hosts Oprah and Geraldo likely to be prepared for Ta-Har, a self-described high priest of the Black Israelites. He too has a talk show, *It's Time to Wake Up*, which airs every other Friday night in New York's Westchester County. But his tactics are, shall we say, more direct. On one show he wielded a baseball bat and delivered a prophecy: "We're going to be beating the hell out of you white people . . . We're going to take your little children and dash them against the stones."

Poinsett and Ta-Har represent the lunatic fringe of the American talk-show spectrum. But they are far from lonely voices. White supremacists, neo-Nazis and other extremists have found a comfortable, if not quite welcoming, home on cable's public-access channels in the U.S. In 1991 the Anti-Defamation League counted 57 different "hate shows" across the country. The audience for these crudely produced and crudely reasoned programs is relatively tiny. But the virulence of their message has roused protests from New York City to Pocatello, Idaho, and launched a classic battle between community standards and the U.S. Constitution's First Amendment rights.

A rundown of the hottest shows on the hate-TV circuit:

► *Race and Reason*, anchored by Tom Metzger, head of the White Aryan Resistance, is the godfather of these programs. Produced in Southern California, the nine-year-old show is seen in 49 markets, according to Metzger. The no-frills talk for-

mat provides a forum for Metzger's white-supremacist views, as well as those of guests like Marty Cox of the skinhead band Extreme Hatred, who snarled in one recently taped show, "We're not gonna walk around the streets and let some nigger come and beat us up."

► Poinsett's show, inspired by Metzger's

sett was appalled. "I am a political dissident," he says. "The First Amendment was meant for people like me."

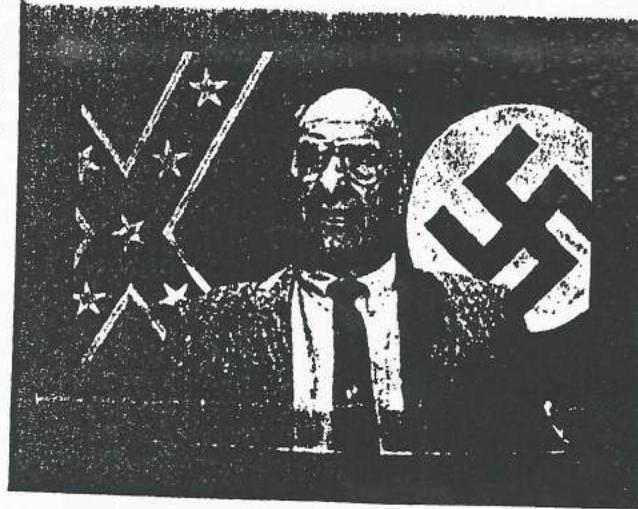
► *Airlink*, which emanates from Mississippi, propagates its "pro-majority" views in somewhat more sedate fashion. "We don't use four-letter words, and there's no hollering or yelling," says Richard Barrett, 49,

a New York-born lawyer who heads the right-wing Nationalist Movement and is *Airlink*'s producer and host. There are, however, plenty of approving words for neo-Nazi groups and whites who arm themselves against violent minorities. Barrett, who says his show airs in 60 markets, is the most litigious of the hate-TV crowd. He has sued the city of Houston over a \$100 fee it charges to non-locally produced access programs, and is waging a legal battle in Boston over a string of roadblocks he claims the cable company has put in his path.

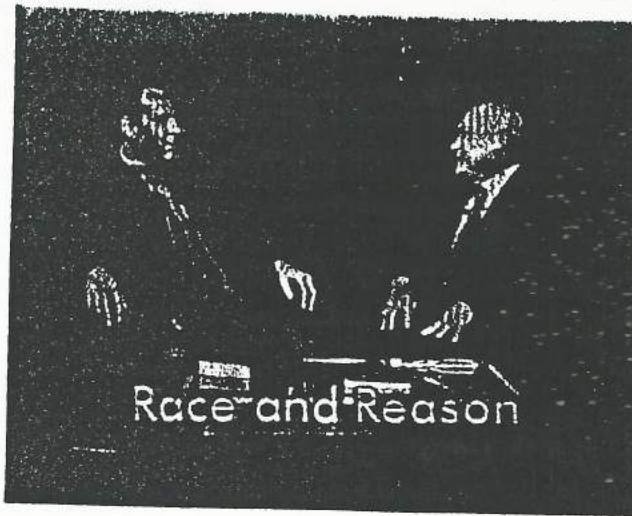
These hate shows are generally protected by the First Amendment. In addition, the Cable Communications Policy Act of 1984 requires that public-access channels be uncensored (except for obscenity) and available to all. Even Ta-Har's antiwhite tirades were not, in the view of lawyers for TCI Cable of Westchester, inflammatory enough to outweigh his right to free speech. Some municipalities have fought back by banning non-locally produced shows on public-access channels or requiring that such shows have a local sponsor.

In the end, however, most cable and city officials simply grit their teeth and tolerate these programs—and often encourage opposing groups to produce their own shows in response. In a perverse way, hate programs can even draw a community together. "Shows like these can trigger animosities, but they certainly do not cause them," says Robert Purvis, administrative director of the National Institute Against Prejudice and Violence. "Public access is potentially far more valuable in improving intergroup relations than it is in harming them."

—Reported by Paul Krueger/
San Diego, Scott Norvell/Atlanta and David E.
Thigpen/New York



Thunder on the right: Poinsett spouts neo-Nazi doctrine; Metzger, right, interviews racist rocker Marty Cox



Race and Reason

and also called *Race and Reason*, is even more extreme. An unabashed neo-Nazi, Poinsett asserts that "America is becoming darker and dumber every day" and considers Rudolf Hess and Adolf Hitler "the greatest white men who ever lived." When his show began running in New York City in January, viewer protests forced the program's local sponsor to withdraw it. Poin-

Deny, deny, deny

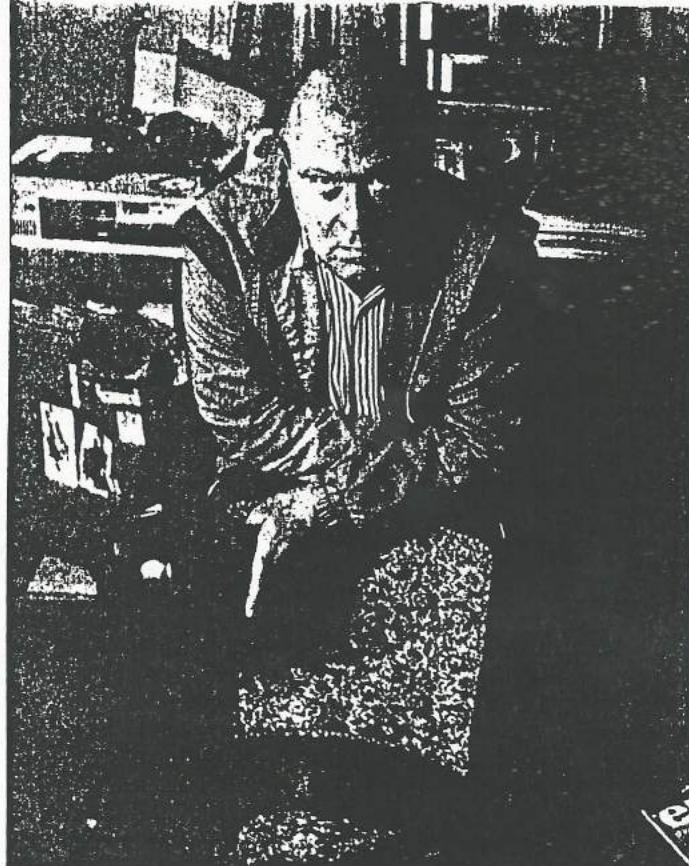
Ernst Zundel is back in action—and on TV

It has the look of a latter-day Bavarian fortress. Wrought-iron grills cover the windows; video monitors peer down from the roof; a heavy metal trap door, painted bright red, leads into the basement. Visitors permitted access to Ernst Zundel's bunker on an otherwise nondescript downtown Toronto street pass first into a waiting area, stacked with posters—"Achtung—the thought police is coming!" Inside the second door sits a row of video terminals monitoring the building. In one room is a stamp machine where Zundel has rung up \$188,000 worth of postal charges sending pamphlets and newsletters around the world. In another room are bookshelves stacked floor to ceiling with files—Zundel's arsenal in his campaign to disprove the Holocaust. And leaning against a wall is a large wooden cross that Zundel once carried on his way to court to face charges of knowingly spreading false news. "That's the best thing I did," says a smiling Zundel. "It's amazing. It made the front pages of seven Canadian newspapers."

A year after the Supreme Court of Canada struck down a section of the Criminal Code that prohibited the publication of false news and so overturned Zundel's conviction, the 54-year-old German-born publisher is back in action—and outraging his critics. He has published a 567-page condensation of evidence presented at his trial, including the pamphlet that provoked the initial charges against him, *Did Six Million Really Die?* And he has started shortwave radio programs broadcast from the United States in English and in German—the latter aimed at Germany, where Zundel has a growing following of right-wing extremists. He also launched a TV show, beamed from the United States to a satellite and disseminated to anyone with a receiving dish across North America. Last week, Showcase America, the Colorado-based network that broadcast his first programs, decided to pull Zundel's show, according to programming director Claire Murray. Zundel said that he has plenty of alternatives—and has already signed a contract with another network starting this week.

Jewish leaders say that Zundel is hurtful and dangerous, and they have asked police to investigate whether he is contravening

Section 319 (2) of the Criminal Code which prohibits the wilful promotion of hatred—the law, they say, under which Zundel should have been charged the first time around. "This stuff is garbage and it's damaging—the victim impact is huge," said Joshua Schwarcz, Ontario director of the League for Human Rights of B'nai Brith Canada. "Zundel is an icon in the neo-Nazi white supremacist



BRIAN ELLIOTT/MACLEANS

Zundel at home: Jewish leaders want police to investigate

movement in Canada. They regarded the overturning of the false news law as a great victory."

In his first TV show, aired on June 20, Zundel said that he intended to change the image North Americans have of Germany by featuring such Germans as the "heroic" Rudolf Hess—the Hitler deputy and convicted war criminal. And he promised to provide a "revisionist" perspective on the Second World War. In fact, a program that aired July 25 showed Zundel visiting the Auschwitz death camp with a man he identifies as David Cole, "a young Jew from the United States." On the video, Cole claims that buildings at Auschwitz were renovated after liberation to make them look like gas chambers.

Cole also points to a swimming pool that he claims was "clearly an area for the inmates' enjoyment."

Bernie Farber, national director of community relations for the Canadian Jewish Congress, says that Cole's allegations are typical of Holocaust deniers who use a grain of truth (most of the original gas chambers at Auschwitz were obliterated after the war and recreated by Polish authorities) "and build a lie around it." Added Farber: "Holocaust denial is the cutting edge of modern-day anti-Semitism. We believe it falls squarely within the definition of hate propaganda." While not mentioning Zundel specifically, Ontario Deputy Attorney General George Thomson said that if solid evidence is produced, the province will take action against hate crimes. And although Zundel's shows are transmitted

from the United States, Mark Sandler, senior legal counsel to the League for Human Rights, says that they could well be subject to Canadian hate laws. Said Sandler: "There may be a Canadian linkage through the fact that the shows are either produced or filmed here."

In an interview in the basement of his home, Zundel said that some of the TV programs are indeed filmed in Toronto. But he defended his right to broadcast. "I am not hateful," insisted Zundel, surrounded by posters of German soldiers and a framed picture of Adolf Hitler. And although he reiterated his claim—widely and irrefutably debunked—that there were no Nazi gas chambers or death camps, he argued that "Holocaust denial is not anti-Semitism—it's questioning a historical event."

Metro Toronto police would not say last week whether Zundel is under investigation. But Det. Staff Sgt. Robert Matthews, who is in charge of the Ontario Provincial Police's pornography and hate literature section, said that he investigated holocaust statements that Zundel made on radio last year, but that they were not illegal. "Mr. Zundel is very knowledgeable about what he can say," Matthews said.

Those rules may yet change. Federal and provincial justice officials will deal with hate-crime issues at a meeting in the fall. Paul Saint-Denis, a senior counsel in the federal justice department, said that public concern, and the Supreme Court decision that led to the overturning of Zundel's conviction, may lead to the broadening of the law. Said Saint-Denis: "We want to examine what needs to be done to control these types of people." In the meantime, the Zundel show goes on.

MARY NEMETH and TOM FENNELL
in Toronto

Zundl's satellite TV show killed in U.S.

Canadian Jews key in getting propaganda bounced off airways

By ENZO DI MATTEO

Holocaust revisionist Ernst Zundl has had his U.S.-based satellite show, Voice Of Freedom, taken off the airwaves — at least temporarily — following complaints by, among others, the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC).

The show, which has been beamed by satellite across North America since mid-June on the sat-

ellite network Showcase America, is broadcast Sundays out of Englewood, Colorado, by Teleport Denver Ltd.

Says Farber, "We'll follow him (Zundl) wherever he goes. We're doggedly on his trail."

But a request by Zundl to purchase satellite time through Teleport on a syndication basis — selling the program market to market instead of as part of 24-hour programming provided on the Showcase America network — has thrown a glitch into the situation.

Rights protection

In an August 18 letter to Shulman, Teleport vice-president Paul Brandenburg explains that, even though Zundl is not a U.S. citizen, he is still protected by freedom of speech rights under the first amendment of that country's constitution, according to legal advice sought by Teleport.

"This leads to a sticky issue — the right of free speech and the threat of censorship," writes Brandenburg. "The rights the Nazi party threw aside and that the neo-Nazis would like to eliminate are the very rights under which any fringe group is protected. To deny those rights for the sake of what I personally believe would, in a way, be championing what they stand for."

Reached in Denver, Teleport programming manager Claire Murray declined to elaborate on that section of the letter, saying only that she is unaware whether Teleport has

heard back from its legal department. "Everything we have to say is in the letter."

Still, it remains unclear whether the company will grant Zundl's syndication request.

No obligation

- Under U.S. satellite transmission rules, companies with what is known as a common carrier licence are publicly obligated to beam, in the words of one Federal Communications Commission (FCC) spokesperson in Washington, DC, "whatever comes their way." Those with private licences are under no such obligation.

Jennifer Warren, an FCC lawyer, says, "Teleport has a private licence."

Meanwhile Zundl, who is in Germany, could not be reached for comment. John Robinson, a "worker" at Zundl's Carlton headquarters in Toronto, says he received a fax from Teleport Tuesday (August 24) notifying Zundl that his contract with the company has been terminated.

"They didn't say why," says Robinson. "We did sign a contract. It seems to me there should be legal ramifications."

R A C I S M

elite network Showcase America, is broadcast Sundays out of Englewood, Colorado, by Teleport Denver Ltd.

Recently it has featured the likes of Holocaust denier David Irving and Canadian defence lawyer Doug Christie. According to the CJC's Bernie Farber, videos for the show are prepared by Zundl here and sent to Colorado for broadcast by satellite as a way of getting around Canadian anti-propaganda laws.

Under the terms of a contract, Teleport sold time to Zundl to carry his Voice Of Freedom program on its satellite network transmitting facility. The company decided to pull the program following a review by a committee and after a letter of complaint and a file on Zundl were sent to the broadcast company by CJC associate director Steven Shul-

beruf: neonazi

T.O. STAR - JAN. 26 / 94

German neo-Nazi film features Metro's Zundel

MUNICH (AP) — A German documentary about a 27-year-old fascist that features an appearance by Toronto neo-Nazi Ernst Zundel has provoked a lawsuit by Jewish leaders and theatre vandalism.

Cow manure was smeared on the door of a Munich theatre where *Career: Neo-Nazi* was playing.

What angers German Jewish leader Ignatz Bubis, who sued to block the film's distribution, is the matter-of-fact way director Winfried Bonengel tracks the seemingly friendly, intelligent Bela Ewald Althans.

In a country rattled by anti-foreigner violence and fascist and racist groups claiming 43,000 members, many believe a film about a German who denies the Nazis killed 6 million Jews should have a clearer moral tone.

Bonengel's camera follows Althans, glibly spouting love for Hitler and ha-

tred for Jews, from his mentor Zundel's office in Toronto to a meeting with ethnic Germans in Poland to a speech before brownshirted skinheads at a beer hall.

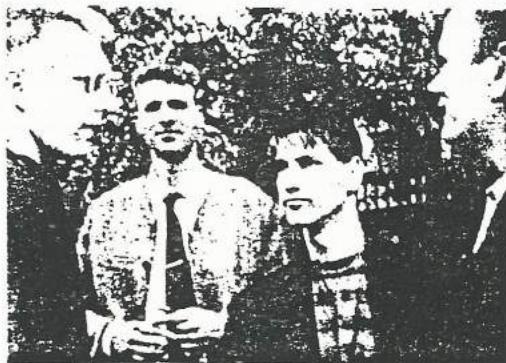
In a Toronto scene, Holocaust denier Zundel puts a hand on Althans' shoulder and says he's grooming him to be the next fuehrer, saying: "He has the right look, you know? Tall, handsome, blond hair, blue eyes."

A few cinematic devices — a closeup of Althans' peculiarly-shaped ears, a long interview with a scatterbrained old Nazi woman, a comic shot of Zundel in a hard hat — tip off the audience to the film-maker's true sympathies.

When Althans enters a former gas chamber at Auschwitz and begins shouting the Holocaust never happened, a crowd of 40 tourists hangs back in embarrassed silence.

de ophef rond een documentaire

'Beruf: Neonazi' is vast en zeker de meest besproken documentaire van de laatste maanden. Het is een documentaire over de neonazi Ewald Bela Althans, gemaakt door Winfried Bonengel. 80 minuten lang volgt de camera Althans zonder enig commentaar. In onderstaand artikel staat een overzicht van de discussies rond de film en een interview met de maker.



*x.l.n.r.
Micha Springwald (F.A.P),
Ewald Althans, een
GDNF-aktivist en
Michael Kühnen,
1990*

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Datum:

c/o Tel.: 1 (416) 922-9850 • Fax: 1 (416) 922-8614

PRESS RELEASE

SPECTACULAR ACTION PHOTOS FOR SALE

Re: The International neo-Nazi Connection to Croatia and Iraq

Over 100 photos are available for you. These photos document neo-Nazi volunteers fighting in Yugoslavia on behalf of Croatian forces as well as neo-Nazi involvement in Iraq.

The photos I have are of neo-Nazis from across the world pictured in Iraq at the time of the American "Desert Storm" bombing of Iraq. These photos document the connection between militant neo-Nazis dressed in Iraqi uniforms and the Iraqi government and its officials.

The photographs of neo-Nazis in Croatia document their involvement in the war against Yugoslavian forces. Neo-Nazis from across the globe have flocked to Yugoslavia to fight for Croatia. These pictures have never been published before in the media.

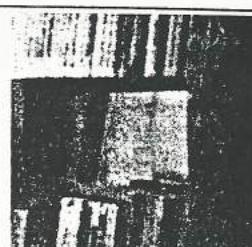
I am willing to sell these pictures for \$5000.00 U.S. to the first respondent to this release. As well as the photos, I can offer you the names of those involved and background information about them, and contacts with some of the neo-Nazis in the photographs for interviews. Video footage is also available for interested parties.

If you are interested in any or all of these colour photographs and the information that I have available, contact me from May 22-24 at this Fax number: 1 (416) 922-8614.

Inquire by Fax no later than Tuesday, May 25. I will be selling these photos on Wednesday, May 26 only.

B.E. Althans

Althans' asking price is \$5,000 and he further offers contacts with the neo-nazis involved as well as video footage. Althans' fund-raising stunt is clearly part of an international drive: the contact telephone and fax numbers on the press release belong to the Toronto-based Auschwitz liar and criminal Ernst Zündel, with whom Althans was residing in May and June. (¶2)



Kadlub, Upper Silesia. In this exclusive photograph, from left to right: Bela-Ewald Althans, Thomas Hainke and Günther Boschütz, three leading German neo-nazis, addressing a revanchist public meeting



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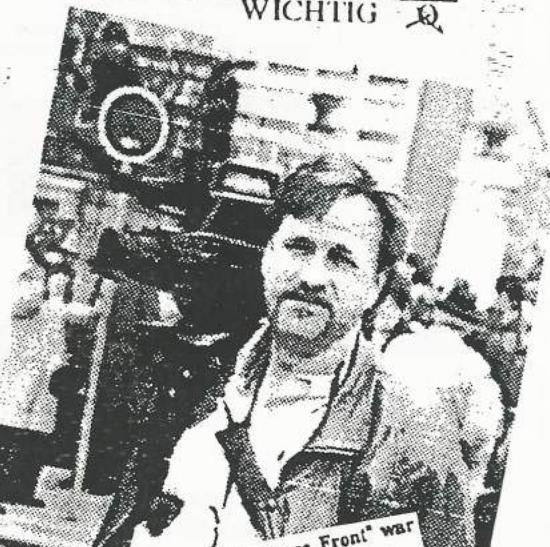
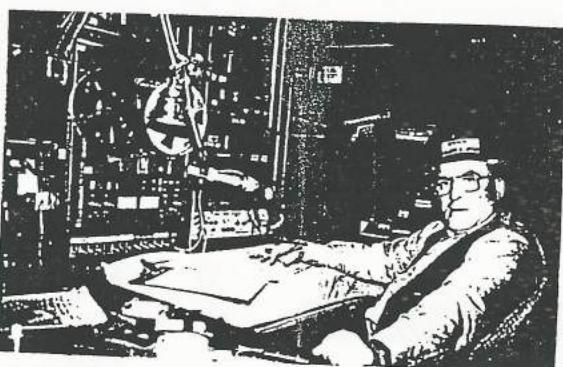
Datum: 7 Januar 1993

c/o Samisdat - 206 Carlton St. - CAN - Toronto/Ont. - M5A 2L1 - Tel.: 001-416-9229850

Fax O

Brief

WICHTIG



EIN ZIEL -
EIN WILLE -
EIN SIEG!
ERNST ZÜNDEL

Ernst Zündel
206 Carlton Street
Toronto, Ontario,
Canada M5A 2L1

Arbeit einen Terroranschlag
AVD verübt. Die Scheiß-Säuerchen in den Läden
hier gilt.

ALLER ANFANG I:
Viele Motive unserer Gegner und den sicherlich auch
- aber wir wollen und Deutschland machen. Den nicht mit Gewalt entgegen
ich oft schon sagte, die Waffe ist das Wort. Mobilität (zu der auch G
Anbei nun endlich Weiterverbreitung freuen



Gerd Honsik, Dichter, Buchautor und Verleger der Zeitung *Halt*, wurde in Wien zu 11 Jahren bedingtem Gefängnis verurteilt. Jagschitz, Professor für Neuere Zwischenexperten zur Universität Wien.

XIV

(THE NEW REICH)

AUSCHWITZ IS THE PROBLEM

WHY WOULD A SUCCESSFUL AUTHOR LIKE DAVID IRVING, or a literature professor like Robert Faurisson, spread the myth of the gas chambers' nonexistence. With more moderate views, these prominent revisionists could certainly lead more comfortable lives. Faurisson, for example, was attacked and badly injured by a militant Jewish group in Vichy in September 1989. So why do they persist in denying this indisputable historical fact, a crime to which thousands of victims and hundreds of perpetrators have credibly attested?

There must be a reason that goes deeper than guilt or hatred, one that forces us to confront such fundamental values as human dignity and freedom of expression.

The principal text of Holocaust denial comes from the pen of a seventy-year-old farmer. This particular farmer has bank accounts in Copenhagen, Hamburg, Brussels, Vienna, Amsterdam, Johannesburg, and California. He was an SS officer at Auschwitz, and his name is Thies Christophersen. He lives in Denmark, where he goes by the name Tiis Christensen. His book, *Die Auschwitz-Lüge* (The Auschwitz Lie) was quickly banned in the Federal Republic of Germany, where it is against the law to deny the Holocaust.

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The neo-Nazis continually denounce the ban of this and other revisionist works as an example of "the suppression of freedom of speech in this so-called democracy." The argument is insidious, as their invocation of democratic sentiments is completely insincere. The neo-Nazis would like nothing more than the immediate abolition of democracy. But when their freedom to spread malicious propaganda is endangered, they demand freedom of expression as their democratic right. In this too they misinterpret democracy, for the German Constitution also guarantees protection from public harassment—a matter of course in most democratic states, where human dignity is another fundamental right.

Free-speech absolutists such as the American Noam Chomsky—who is by no means right-wing—defend as a basic right the freedom of speech in which anyone can say absolutely anything. Their position unintentionally supports the strategies of terrorism; and the effects of unchecked hate propaganda is something we simply cannot ignore, particularly we Germans, who have already once endured the destruction of our liberal institutions by fascist extremists. Freedom of expression is not endangered when Nazis are forbidden their slanderous lies. A neo-Nazi is not punished for saying: "I like National Socialism. I hate Jews and intellectuals." Opinions cannot be forbidden. However, if he says, "There was no Holocaust. Stop with the historical lies, with the inventions of world Jewry," then he is liable to be punished by the state for using speech to manufacture new hate.

The Nazis do not dispute the Holocaust because they are ashamed of it. On the contrary, most are secretly proud of it. The revisionists who deny its existence have greater appeal for those who feel the guilt of the mass extermination as a burden. But both sides benefit: one lies shamelessly; and the other just as shamelessly believes the obvious lies, because they want to believe.

But guilt itself is not the real motive behind revisionism, which is suggested by Ewald Althans's remark that "Auschwitz must fall before man can accept what we want. The people all say, hey, that Althans, that's a nice guy, but Auschwitz. . . . This is the problem."

Given the Holocaust, Nationalist Socialist policies have no chance of ever winning broad popular support again. When people today think about the Third Reich, they think of mountains of emaciated corpses; mountains of eyeglasses, shoes, and hair from the murdered victims; of Jewish women, naked, holding their small children on the way to the gas chamber. *These* are the images that can still prevent mass fascination with parades, uniforms, cheering crowds. They are the images that bring us to the realization that such policies must never be reenacted.

This is exactly why the Holocaust is the number-one target of neo-Nazis and why they want to obliterate it from the minds of a potentially sympathetic population. It's purely a matter of tactics. They care neither about "the truth" nor "freedom of expression"—both of which they tout, for the moment. No, their single goal is to reestablish National Socialism.

The baseness of the "Auschwitz lie" itself goes even deeper. Christophersen's "eyewitness report" gives the impression that the Auschwitz concentration camp was a sort of reform school for recalcitrants in which the internees had it better than the supervisors. "In our weather station we had an SS assistant who once 'organized' a pair of silk stockings for herself.* As a result she was brought before a military court—for plundering. But the prisoners who worked there stole like magpies. I was frequently struck by how elegantly the prisoners were dressed. They did have to wear their prisoners' uniforms, but their underclothes, socks, and shoes were unblemished and first-rate. There was also no lack of beauty supplies. Lipstick, powder, and rouge were part of the female prisoners' kits."

It is difficult even to read something like this. A single picture of the emaciated bodies in the concentration camps, their eyes filled with terror, is enough to prove that this man is either mad or absolutely evil. Naturally, he regards himself as good-natured. "When we had a newcomer who showed up at the camp undernourished and thin, in just a few days he had a sleek pelt."

His personal slave—he notes that "lady's maid would be an

*In prison lingo, "to organize" means "to steal."

appropriate expression"—was a Polish woman he calls Olga. She was "extraordinarily eager to serve," but "As time went on this woman and her interminable chatter got on my nerves. Her eagerness to serve was too submissive for me, too slavish. I didn't like that. She was given a new job, one for which I didn't envy her. She was assigned to be a 'supervisor' in the women's camp and had to make sure that no unauthorized male prisoners came into the women's camp. Olga could scold wonderfully, and it was a pleasure to watch how she threw the men out of the women's camp. Her fellow prisoners called her 'Cerberus.'"

The man who wrote this is the revisionists' chief witness. Irving, Faurisson, Zündel, and all the others refer to him. Thies Christophersen is a central figure of international neofascism, and that's why, in the summer of 1990, I decide that I have to speak with him.

Kühnen gives me the opening when he tells me that he's planning a meeting with Gary Lauck, the head of the NSDAP-AO in the United States. They will probably meet in Denmark where, "coincidentally," Thies Christophersen happens to live. But when I tell Kühnen that I'm interested in interviewing both Lauck and Christophersen, he demands 8,000 marks. Up to now I haven't paid a pfennig and wouldn't be prepared to, so I ask for time to think. When I discuss it with Graeme Atkinson, we agree that this figure is out of the question, and that nothing will probably come of it. But . . . if I were able to interview both Lauck and Christophersen, it might be a big step forward. "We're not about to finance their next event," Graeme says. "Let's be realistic: give him as much as it would cost you to fly to the States. After all, you'll save that much if you can get Lauck in front of the camera here."

A week later I meet Kühnen again and indicate my readiness to pay up to 3,000 marks—approximately what a trip to interview Lauck in Lincoln, Nebraska, would cost me. Kühnen stands firm. He wants 8,000 marks, all in advance.

We part without reaching an agreement, and three hours later I'm sitting in Graeme's apartment in Stuttgart. He rolls his eyes and says, "I saw it coming."

"And now?" I ask, discouraged. My finances are about to run out, and even 3,000 marks is a pretty big chunk for me.

Graeme pokes me in the chest with his index finger: "Tell him three thousand is all you can raise and he can take it or leave it. But you know each other well enough; he'll take it. And if not, that's all right too. Then at least you'll never have to blame yourself for having given them money."

But now I do blame myself. Looking back, I could kick myself for having done it. There is, I suspect, a difference between paying demonstrators "on the spot" for Hitler-salutes and Nazi songs in order to spice up the evening news and covering the travel expenses of an important interviewee, as I did, but money is money. To be sure, the "investment" produced worthwhile results. But it was completely contrary to journalistic ethics, and Kühnen bagged 3,000 marks for Lauck's travel costs.

Gary Rex Lauck was born in 1953 in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. He claims to have first felt "racial consciousness" at age eleven, and two years later he read, and "identified" with, *Mein Kampf*. By the time he was eighteen, he was calling himself "Gerhard" and was active in the neo-Nazi circles. Soon after, he became a cofounder of the NSDAP-AO, in Lincoln, Nebraska. Since then he has supplied his German "comrades" with propaganda, stickers, flags, books, audiotapes, videocassettes, as well as with money, organizational support, and contacts. Even though most activities are focused on Germany, the NSDAP-AO has members all over the world, but especially in Sweden, Austria, Hungary, Australia, and South Africa. Lauck allegedly sends funds to his German allies at irregular intervals through a Swiss bank account. He earns his money by selling Nazi devotional paraphernalia, through a company called R.J.G. Engineering, Inc., also located in Lincoln, Nebraska.

Lauck has connections with the Ku Klux Klan and with terrorist organizations like The Order. Issue 82 (1989) of Lauck's publication *The New Order* is dedicated to David Lane, the former Ku Klux Klan activist who is serving a 150-year jail sentence for murder, robbery, and other crimes. He was involved in the murder of Alan Berg, the Jewish radio talk-show host who was shot to death in 1984 in Denver, Colorado. They describe their terrorist activities as a "race

war" against what they call the ZOG, or Zionist Occupation Government. In the same issue of *The New Order* is a piece by Lauck entitled "Action Program for Aryan Skinheads." In it, Lauck provides words of guidance for the "coming phase of the race war, when we'll fight man to man." As for now, he cautions, "all skins must hide their racist literature from their parents. Skinheads should not leave these things at home, but should deposit them in the safe apartments of older skins."

Lauck gives specific orders about guns. The skinheads should "hide their expertise, and store their weapons in remote places." There is special advice for beginners: "For starters, don't vote, don't buy Jew alcohol and dope, don't attend Jew movies, don't read Jew magazines and books." The indoctrination of hate must proceed with minimal interference from the liberal press—that is, "Jew magazines."

Lauck's last "professional" trip to Germany was in 1976, when he was arrested near Mainz with huge quantities of illegal propaganda and subsequently deported. In 1979 he was allowed temporary entry in order to testify in Michael Kühnen's defense. Several warrants for his arrest have since been issued for various offenses of the law banning National Socialist activity.

On July 4, 1990, I am in Denmark with a camera team.

Christian Worch has picked Lauck up at the airport in Copenhagen. They are careful to stay in Denmark, since Lauck is still wanted in Germany. I get a hint of the seriousness of this matter when Worch, while looking for Thies Christophersen's house, accidentally comes upon a German border crossing. With a panicked reflex, he pulls the steering wheel to the left and we turn, tires spinning and screeching, in the opposite direction.

We are close to the border in Kollund, not two minutes away from Thies Christophersen. We are gathered at the Albatross, a run-down pension whose most appealing feature is a magnificent view of the Baltic and the tiny brick houses on the other, the German, side. This is where the assembly is taking place.

Lauck is at least six-foot-three and has thick, dark hair that rebels

against a part. With his walrus mustache and metal glasses, he looks rather like a harmless traveling salesman. His gray suit, boring tie, and black dress shoes complete the image of a good, if simple, man, but his speech to the assembled leaders and supporters of the NSDAP-AO shows him in another light. "I think that the Jews were treated a little too nicely in the concentration camps. Personally, I'd say that's a mistake we should not make again."

The applauding audience includes the neo-Nazi elite: Michael Kühnen, Gottfried Küssel, and Christian Worch, as well as Christa Goerth, friendly as always, and SS veteran Berthold Dinter, organizer of the "Rudolf Hess Memorial March" in Wunsiedel.* Next to him sits Günther Reintaler, alias "Hrouda," the *Gauleiter* of Salzburg. His trademarks are his dirty-blond ponytail and the Doberman that is always crouched around at his side; he compensates for a deformed hand with particularly aggressive behavior. In October 1990, militant antifascists set his BMW on fire; in the trunk of the gutted car, the police found a machine pistol with 390 rounds of ammunition, a 9mm pistol, and a shotgun.

I also recognize Tonny Douma (of the ANS/Netherlands), who once had put in a good word for me with Wolsink and who now acknowledges my gaze with a slight nod. Thomas Hainke, the boss skinhead from Bielefeld, has already shown me his newest wound: a cut on his upper lip, almost completely healed. Worch's wife, Ursula, attractive but cold, glares at me—she hates journalists. She prefers revisionists, like David Irving, with whom she has animated conversations at conferences. Later, rumors will suggest that Irving is one of the reasons she left her husband.

Tonight Lauck emphasizes the importance of division of labor. "Revisionism, for example. I think it's important. It's a good thing. But we can let the revisionist historians take care of it. They can do it better than we can. There may even be other jobs the nationalist-

*Dinter also publishes a small journal entitled *Wehr' Dich* (Defend Yourself). It contains "poems" with phrases like: "Blonde Annette in the eighth grade, her blood is of the German race . . . Zion is the only one to laugh, but just wait until Germany arises . . . then no one will yell 'Nazis out,' or else we'll break their bones . . ." (no. 8, 1990).

conservative groups can do as well or maybe even better than us. But there are also certain tasks that only National Socialists can perform." He doesn't say what these are, but his listeners get the idea. If in doubt, you can order one of Lauck's propaganda stickers. For example, "Liberty or Revolution! End the Nazi Ban!" On this one, a man wearing a swastika armband is shown lighting a fuse beneath a TV station with an audience inside.

Lauck is proud of his outlaw status: "After twenty years, neither the Stasi nor the 'Verfassungs-Schmutz' has succeeded in getting rid of us. We're still here. And we're going to stay here. We'll fight right up to the end, if it takes one year or a hundred. We have more stamina than the Bonn politicians because we also have more idealism, more devotion. And we are more hungry for battle. *Heil Hitler!*"

Lauck speaks with a strong American accent, but his German is pretty good; interestingly, he has taken to speaking English with a German accent.

After the speech, I'm allowed my interview. He is willing to talk, so long as the questions are general. He confirms most of the facts Graeme and I turned up in our investigations. "Of course" members of his organization also belong to the so-called respectable parties. But when I ask him if any of his members are sitting in the European Parliament, he grows more cautious. "I wouldn't say anything too definite about that. But you could naturally say, sure, if there is somebody there, it's certainly not a delegate on the left. You might ask: Who's the farthest to the right in parliament? And that's the man!"

"Is there anyone in the European Parliament that has ever belonged to your organization?" Lauck turns taciturn; silence is one of the NSDAP-AO's statutes. "No comment."

But I already know from Kühnen that there might be someone: Harald Neubauer, member of the European Parliament since 1989. He has had a lengthy career in the extreme right: NPD, Aktion Neue Rechte (New Right Action), DVU, then Republican second-in-command, followed by election to the European Parliament. Though he left the REP after a break with Schönhuber, he will remain in the parliament until 1994.

A few months earlier, Michael Kühnen, upon hearing that Neubauer has been describing him as an idiot, subsequently lets loose and implicates Neubauer in front of my camera: "In the early and mid-seventies Harald Neubauer was an NSDAP-AO official in northern Germany and as far as I know also the *Gau* treasurer in Schleswig-Holstein."

But Lauck remains silent, even in the second part of the interview, when I seat him and Kühnen next to each other. Lauck won't go beyond "No comment."

This is too much for Kühnen, whose integrity is on the line. "I'd like to say something about this whole business. I know that Neubauer's a member." Lauck's face goes pale. According to the statutes of the NSDAP-AO, no one's present or past membership may be disclosed. Yet Kühnen continues:

"I've seen it with my own two eyes and I've had it confirmed by two comrades I was working with and who Neubauer was also working with at the time." Kühnen goes on to explain the situation. While Lauck can only wince, speechless at his colleague's complete lack of discretion, Kühnen explains that "there are and were individual cells that operated entirely independently, and there was a net of loose contacts that even worked on the *Gau* level—which corresponds pretty closely to the states in Germany today—and it was on this level, not local but regional, that this activity was taking place."

Period. He has spoken. Shortly afterwards, during a break in the filming—to reload the camera—Lauck turns to Kühnen. "And he's now with the Republicans? I had no idea."

"Yes," Kühnen says, "he's a hypocrite. And he was once damned grateful that we provided guards and supervisors. You can ask Wrobel about it, or Rohwer. But now he doesn't want to have anything to do with us, and that's why I see him as a political enemy. Even if he is still in the AO."

Rohwer was sentenced in 1979 to nine years in jail for founding a terrorist organization. An NSDAP-AO liaison man, he and Neubauer are demonstrably old acquaintances. Lauck is somewhat

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bewildered, but he quickly has to pull himself back together since the cameraman has put in a new tape. To Lauck's relief, we change subjects and speak, now in English, about one of his specialties. "I have no objections to Jewish people and their race and their culture surviving, but if they systematically try to exterminate my race, I will defend my race. If in defending my race I have to annihilate a few of them . . . fine. And if it's a matter of saving the last white man dying on this planet or having to kill the last Jew, it's bye-bye Jew . . ." His words sound memorized. "But when they systematically attempt to destroy my race, then I'm going to defend myself. And if it should be necessary to exterminate a couple of them—fine! And if it's a question of whether every last white man dies or whether we have to kill every last Jew, then it's 'Later, Jew!' "

I have no further questions for Lauck. For me, that kind of obsession doesn't arouse either curiosity or the desire to argue. All you can do with words like that is remember them, and remember that we must not give the Nazis any opportunities.

The situation becomes much more interesting when the door suddenly swings open and I hear the click of a camera. Lauck turns toward the door and says cheerfully, "*Heil Hitler, Thies!*" An old man stands there, a brightly colored hat on his head. A cane hangs from his arm as he fiddles with the lens of his mini-camera.

The first thing I notice about Thies Christophersen is a deep indentation, as big as a child's fist, at the bridge of his nose, right between his eyes. It's a war wound. "I'm not completely right in the head," he explains. "And you can see it." And this, I think, is the celebrated eyewitness? His left eye is also damaged; the lid sticks out a little too far on his long face, but it's easy to miss when he's got his glasses on. Once he takes off his hat, I see that he's half bald. The corners of his mouth turn down bizarrely when he speaks, and also when he laughs.

"Can we do an interview with you?" I ask him. Apparently Christophersen knows nothing about being filmed, and he acts surprised. When Kühnen explains that we're making a long-term documentary, Christophersen nods and stares admiringly at our equipment. Then Kühnen and Lauck are called away, leaving us alone with Thies Christophersen.

He takes the liberty of sitting in Lauck's chair. I somehow have the feeling that he doesn't quite understand that we're not neo-Nazis, since he addresses the cameraman and sound engineer as "comrades" as he inspects our camera. "Must be expensive, that kind of thing. Right, comrades? I have my own little one here," he says, using a word from Low German. He comes, after all, from the country, and his news-bulletin is called *Die Bauernschaft* (The Peasantry). He asks me what the interview's supposed to be about. When I tell him I want to discuss his book, *Die Auschwitz-Lüge*, he waves his hand dismissively.

"No, nothing about that."

"Why?" I ask, astonished he wouldn't want to discuss his greatest accomplishment.

"They just won't show it! It never works. We tried it already."

Now I'm almost certain that Christophersen thinks we're fellow neo-Nazis trying to sneak propaganda onto television. I decide to try again. "Don't worry, we'll manage it. No problem!"

He smiles at me indulgently. "Well, it can't hurt to try. The best thing is for me to say that all I want is the right to say my opinion. That always sounds good."

Bull's-eye! He thinks we're Nazis. And so it happens that Thies Christophersen gives us an interview that later causes him lots of trouble. He doesn't worry about contradictions, trusting that his "comrades" will censor whatever is necessary.

He begins by talking about his time as an SS officer in Auschwitz: "I was assigned to the horticultural division. That was done in Auschwitz because of the labor supply there. I was selective. In Birkenau I picked out my workers. I said: 'Which of you worked on a farm?' And then they came forward, and then I said: 'You and you and you—I'll take you.' Do you know how I did it? I looked at their eyes—whoever has white in his eyes is able to work." Christophersen laughs briefly at the memory of his own ingenuity. "But I also always had a couple of Gypsies with me, because Gypsies know how to make music."

I play my role of "comrade" to the hilt, even turning off the camera on occasion to ask if he thinks it's wise to talk about this or that. "In Germany they were trying to arrest me again," he says,

"so I went into exile. Denmark is a very liberal country. Here you can be a Gypsy, you can be a Jew, and you can be a Nazi."

Since Kühnen could come in any minute and clear up the "misunderstanding," I need to get to the heart of the matter: the gas chambers in Auschwitz. "I'm now going to ask you a tough question," I say, giving him a significant wink. "Were there gassings or were there not gassings?"

"I didn't write anything about gassings in my report," he says. "But I did hear rumors of fire, that people were being cremated. And so I investigated all the fireplaces in the camp. I knew that there were crematoria. But I did not see any cremations and I did not know anything about them."

As always, no one knew anything, not even the SS officers in charge. Is Christophersen in contact with David Irving?

"I've known David Irving for many years," he says.

"What do you think of him?"

"He is constantly being attacked because he is an Englishman—and we don't like to hear it when he also talks about German atrocities. Which there certainly also were. But I admit, I am biased."

Christophersen appears increasingly helpless. He no longer knows what to say. But he feels he's among friends, and he lays himself bare. "I want to exonerate and defend us, and I can't do it with what we actually did. I don't deny that. But no defender with anything to defend will talk about what's incriminating."

Without noticing it, he's just denied the claims he made in his infamous book.

"They've even frozen my bank accounts, can you imagine that! But all of that doesn't affect me. I'll push on. I'd think of myself as having betrayed my friends if I recanted now, and that's something I've never done."

In September of 1991, our film *Wahrheit macht frei*, which includes Christophersen's revealing admissions, is broadcast in Sweden. It's an embarrassing moment for the Holocaust deniers. Within a few months, the film has been shown in most European countries. Now Christophersen has problems. In the December 1991 issue of *Die Bauernschaft*, he writes that "My statement was twisted into a

completely opposite meaning. My later correction was never acknowledged.* The broadcast naturally caused me to receive several indignant letters from Swedish and Danish readers. It is a perfect example of the primitive frauds that our opponents are now forced to resort to in their distress."

Apparently he still believes he'd been interviewed by fellow neo-Nazis: "I never gave an interview to Swedish television. The correct story is that I once gave Herr Michael Kühnen an interview." As his "correction" continues, his memory gets completely muddled and he starts making things up: "I furthermore said that I might discontinue my work because of my age, but that I would think of myself as betraying my friends if I accepted their help and then did nothing in return. As for gas chambers, I said that they were there but only to get rid of lice. . . ."

So much for Thies Christophersen, the revisionists' eyewitness. His lighthearted remark about not being "completely right in the head" really said it all.

*Swedish television reports never having received any "correction" from Christophersen.

XV

THREADS IN THE NET

IT'S NOVEMBER 1989, SHORTLY AFTER THE WALL CAME down in Germany, and Thies Christophersen's friends are meeting in France, in the small Alsatian town of Haguenau. It's not the first time that neofascists from across Europe have gathered at the Hôtel National, whose proprietors have an excellent relationship with the extremists and have even sent Christophersen a letter expressing their regrets that he could not attend. He's keeping his distance because there is a warrant for his arrest in Germany and he's afraid the French police might capture and extradite him. Everyone here is sure that there are no police in the area, but why take unnecessary risks. Everyone is also confident that there are no eavesdroppers in this gathering: the press has been excluded, the host knows how to keep his mouth shut, and the participants are a sworn brotherhood.

Still, Christophersen is lucky not to have come, because agents of the German Verfassungsschutz and of the French interior ministry have bugged the hall. The host in Alsace was forced to cooperate, as in a B-movie. So the French and German secret services have the opportunity to hear David Irving, who before a select audience, and without the media around, can make revisionism sound quite amusing.

"And there was once also a one-man gas chamber!" he announces. "A one-man gas chamber with two soldiers who carried

it around the Polish countryside, on the lookout for stray Jews . . ." Irving's audience titters expectantly. It's bound to get even better. "This one-man gas chamber, I believe it looked something like a sedan chair, but it was disguised as a phone booth." Everyone's waiting for the punch line, because this historian knows how to tell a joke. "So the question is, how did they get the poor victim to voluntarily enter this one-man gas chamber? Answer: there was a telephone inside. And it rang and then the soldiers said to him, 'I think it's for you!' . . ."

The men and women roaring with laughter include powerful figures in the international scene: Povl Rijs Knudsen, from Denmark, the "Führer" of the World Union of National Socialists (WUNS), who has excellent connections in South America; the Swiss Gaston Armand Amaudruz, a leader in the shadowy *Europäische Neuordnung* (ENO); Robert Faurisson; Professor Arthur Butz from Texas, author of the infamous *Hoax of the Twentieth Century* and a staff member of the Institute for Historical Review.

Individuals of rank and prestige in the German scene have also made the trip to Alsace: Christa Goerth, Christian Worch, Karl Philipp, and the lawyer Wilhelm Stäglich, who gives a lecture on how to promote "Auschwitz lie" propaganda without breaking the law. Acting as master of ceremonies is Udo Walendy, the self-described political scientist and former NPD man.

Faurisson welcomes an unexpected guest from Canada: "It is a complete surprise to see my very special friend Ernst Zündel here. If I had known he was coming I would have brought a present." This is the German-Canadian who publishes neo-Nazi articles under the pseudonym Christoph Friedrich, and who, when he is on trial, sometimes comes to court dressed as a concentration camp inmate. Zündel thanks Faurisson for his warm greetings, and calls the professor his "master."

The other star of this event, along with Irving, is Robert Faurisson. The Frenchman used to try to pass himself off as a leftist, hoping this would lend added credibility to his revisionist ideas. That didn't work very well, so today he frequently compares himself with Galileo. Among neo-Nazis he is considered a genius, and no wonder. After his brilliant idea of commissioning the Leuchter Report

in 1988, he already has something new up his sleeve: "We want to launch an international campaign, together with Ernst Zündel. I've prepared an outline for it." Faurisson has drawn up a list of questions about the "Auschwitz lie." The plan is for as many sympathizers as possible to present these questions, always in the same prescribed form, "to certain media personalities, politicians, lawyers, and policemen" in order to keep the debate alive.

The entire Fall Convention passes smoothly. The eavesdropping policemen do not intervene, not even when Ernst Zündel, to thunderous applause, lets loose with his slanderous tirades: "Why should we, upright German men, dirty ourselves in this slime, in this pigsty, in these demonic base lies about our people that this pack of Jew rabble has spread. I am sick and tired of it."

The convention comes to a successful end, and the whole affair would probably not have interested anyone else if Otto Riehs, the Sudeten German snake collector, had not been such a video buff. Along with Ernst Zündel's private team, Riehs immortalized the Haguenau meeting on video. Like a professional, he included shots of the exterior of the hotel and several broad shots to convey the mood of the assembly.

Otto Riehs had already so kindly introduced me to "the Führer's bodyguard," and now he would prove himself extraordinarily helpful a second time. In return for a promise not to "do anything stupid" with the material—and fifty marks to cover his expenses—he agrees to duplicate his videotape for me. Thorough German that I am, I even have him write me a receipt stating the terms.

Thus the French broadcast of *Wahrheit macht frei* in December of 1991, which includes material from Riehs's "home movies," startles everyone concerned. The Alsatian populace reacts to the film with outrage. The proprietor, fearful for his reputation, exposes the police monitoring operation. And the Nazis realize they have aroused the special interest of the authorities. But the police are the most disturbed of all. An official declares that the broadcast has ruined their investigation and they will now have to start all over again. According to an AP report, the Renseignements Généraux (the French police intelligence service) concluded from their own recordings only that Faurisson and Irving could be identified as

revisionists and anti-Semites. It is open to question whether such massive bugging was required to reach such an obvious conclusion. The Alsatian Jewish community certainly sees it differently. They justly demand that in the future the authorities "do everything possible to prevent such assemblies, which violate French law."

Professor Robert Faurisson has many friends abroad; more, indeed, than he has in France. One of them is Ahmed Rami, who lives in Stockholm. It's been almost twenty years since he arrived in Sweden as a political refugee from Morocco, where he claimed to be one of the officers who plotted to assassinate King Hassan. The coup failed and almost all of the conspirators were executed, but Rami was able to escape. In Sweden he continues his struggle against "other kings," as he puts it, quickly making it clear what he means. His first priority is to spread anti-Semitic propaganda, presented under the ever-popular cover of "anti-Zionism." But his Stockholm radio station, Radio Islam, has grown to become a vehicle for Holocaust deniers in addition to Jew-haters from all over the world. In 1989 he is sentenced to a brief jail term for "incitement to race hate."

He obviously must have had some interesting cellmates, since of late he has been chatting with genuine neo-Nazis on Radio Islam. One of his favorite guests is Tommy Rydén, whose Kreativistens Kyrka (Church of the Creator) was modeled on the American Church of the Creator and thus belongs to the anti-Semitic Identity Church movement. This group has close contacts with VAM (Vit Ariskt Motstand—White Aryan Resistance), a small but dangerous organization whose name reflects an American neo-Nazi group, the White Aryan Resistance. VAM consists of fifty to sixty activists; after numerous murders, bombings, and raids on banks—and, once, even a police station—at least half of VAM's leadership are behind bars.

Yet the Swedish Nazi scene still has sufficient personnel in the spring of 1992 to provide Ahmed Rami with two skinheads as bodyguards. The occasion is Faurisson's visit to Stockholm, and the skinheads are visibly uncomfortable in their suits and ties. But at his press conference, Faurisson declares: "I have nothing to do with

neo-Nazis!" Nevertheless, despite his neo-Nazi bodyguards, a group of determined antifascists convinces Monsieur Faurisson of the wisdom of a quick departure from his favorite Stockholm bar; fearing the thrashing that awaits them out front, the two skinheads spirit the Frenchman away through a rear exit.

Faced with such determined resistance in liberal Sweden, Rami takes great care to cultivate good contacts abroad, including Muammar al-Qaddafi in Libya and Islamic fundamentalists throughout the Middle East. In the United States, the NSDAP-AO newspaper *The New Order* listed Rami alongside other neo-Nazi activists as a "White Power Prisoner," a martyr for the cause of National Socialism, while he was serving his jail term.

In the summer of 1991, I meet with Ahmed Rami in Stockholm. I try to make sure that Rami knows as little as possible about me. We have almost completed our film *Wahrheit macht frei*, and I don't want to take any chances. After a brief greeting we agree to talk in English. The camera is already running. "I am a revisionist," he says good-naturedly, "and I am happy to be a revisionist."

"But you claim," I say, getting down to business, "that you don't have any contact with neo-Nazis?"

"No!" He looks at me with astonished brown eyes, as if I'd just proposed something obscene. Rami is a small man with a friendly face, and his forehead furrows deeply when a conversation takes an unpleasant turn. I decide to help him a little. "Maybe you know the name Ernst Zündel?" I'm hoping he'll deny it, since I have evidence of their connection.

But Rami must not consider Zündel a neo-Nazi, because he replies, "Yes. But I never met him. When I was in Munich, he was arrested. I didn't meet him, never. But I respect him."

So Rami, too, was at the Revisionist Congress Althans had sponsored this year in Munich, where the police commendably fulfilled their duty with Ernst Zündel. I need to get a clearer idea of his opinion of Zündel. "He is a neo-Nazi!" I tell him. He starts to respond, but I haven't finished yet: "And an anti-Semite!" Now Rami begins to defend Zündel, but I interrupt him again. "He talked about a 'pack of Jew rabble'!"

Rami frowns. "Are you sure?" he asks, perplexed.

The only thing I'm not sure of is whether he has completely understood me. After all, English is a second language for both of us. When I ask if he understands what I'm saying, Rami says no. So I tell him again, word for word, what Zündel said in Haguenau. This still doesn't seem to make an impression.

Now Rami is interested in something else: "Can I ask you—are you Jewish?"

"No," I tell him, getting more and more annoyed. As if you had to be a Jew to find Zündel's slanders repulsive.

Rami has apparently decided to set me straight. Since his English isn't good enough for the purpose, he switches into Swedish and my colleague translates. Rami doesn't even look at me as he instructs my colleague, "You can tell him that there weren't any gas chambers."

"But there were!" I say, astonished, as his declaration is translated for me. "I was there. I saw them with my own eyes!"

Rami shakes his head. He raises his index finger as he complains to my colleague about my impudence. "I must be permitted to say that he is not telling the truth. He hasn't seen anything. He's simply lying. But I don't want to condemn him for it. I consider him to be the victim of brainwashing. I've often thought that we should establish a counterindoctrination institute to help Jewry's victims."

I look at my Swedish colleague, who has finished translating and now looks back at me helplessly. He is a thoroughly decent man, almost personally ashamed for what he has just translated. I nod to him and we call it a day.

For the moment, a "counterindoctrination institute" is not possible. So Rami and his comrades must resort to other methods in order to propagate their "Auschwitz lie" among the people. An example of this is found, once again, in beautiful Bavaria. A full-page ad appears on April 30, 1991, in the *Münchner Anzeiger* (Munich Advertiser). The ad has been taken out by the J. G. Burg Society, an organization dedicated (says the ad) to "carrying on the life's work of the Jewish publicist J. G. Burg in reconciling Jews and Germans on the foundation of truth." The bulk of the page is devoted to a long interview with Ahmed Rami, who, according to the ad, reaches "a total of 700,000 listeners four times a week" in

Stockholm through Radio Islam. The journalist's name is given as Joachim Gross. He takes pains to make his questions sound antifascist, but they are deliberately ineffective. "Doesn't that sound as though you're defending Hitler's National Socialism?" Gross asks, as Rami babbles on about how the German people have been "stripped of their rights." Then comes Herr Gross's red herring: "The fact is, six million Jews were systematically and cold-bloodedly gassed."

In this the revisionists' handwriting is clearly discernible. The figure "six million" indicates *all* the different victims—the ones gassed, shot, beaten to death, poisoned, starved, worked to death, and so on, as part of the "Final Solution"—but once the revisionists establish that not nearly so many as six million were actually *gassed*, they boast that they have revealed "the first exaggeration." Next, the reader is presented with a string of spurious, unverifiable claims, all of which are logically dependent on a false charge of "Jewish exaggeration." Fragments of official statements from respectable institutions are cleverly worked into the argument. With details taken out of context, further "contradictions" can easily be demonstrated. The next step is then to introduce the Leuchter Report to "prove" that gas chambers as such did not exist, while continuing to play with the numbers to work them down toward zero. But they don't go all the way to zero. Yet the revisionists do not deny the existence of the concentration camps themselves, and are cunning enough to allow that "natural mortality" would have killed between 40,000 and 300,000.

This is exactly what happens in this interview with Herr Gross. Rami even reduces to 15,000 the number of those killed at Auschwitz. When Gross asks why anyone would "invent" the gas chambers, Rami says, "There's a lot of money involved. You could see it during the Gulf War. The Israelis had barely put gas masks over their faces before the money started to flow from Germany."

Gross feigns indignation: "I will not tolerate such talk. The Jews still suffered under Hitler, even when you consider the truth."

"Even when you consider the truth?" Who, I wonder, is this Joachim Gross? I reach for the telephone and call the *Münchner Anzeiger*. The editor in chief knows immediately what I'm calling

about. They published "that," he says with Bavarian charm, because they thought it was good.

"What?"

"Well, the thing about Auschwitz," he mumbles.

I don't let up. "What about Auschwitz?"

"Yes, well, that it, um, wasn't *like* that."

"That *what* wasn't like that?"

"You know, about the gassing."

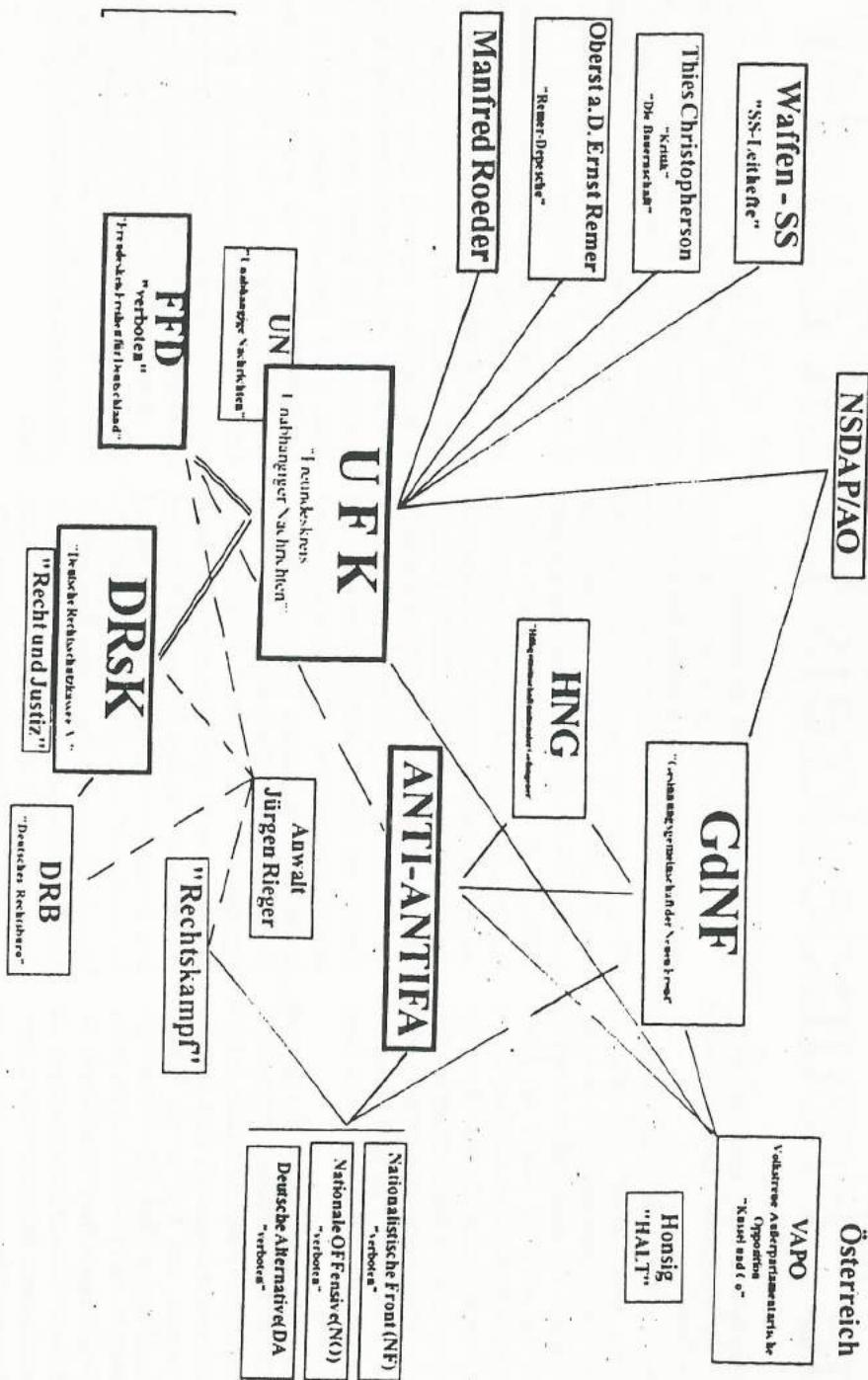
"Now who, exactly, is Herr Joachim Gross? Could I speak with him?"

Noticeably relieved, the editor in chief answers that Gross isn't in the office at the moment, but that he is "a very good journalist" who writes for major daily newspapers.

I'm about to hang up when, by chance, I notice the address at the bottom of the ad for the J. G. Burg Society: Bad Kissingen! That's where Otto-Ernst Remer lives, the Führer's playful bodyguard. Suddenly something clicks, and I ask the *Münchener Anzeiger*'s editor: "Is Joachim Gross's real name Karl Philipp?"

Bingo. All he can come up with is, "I really can't tell you that. After all, I don't even know who you are."

It's only one thread in the net of hate: a net of thousands, working in different ways toward the same goal. Various methods, but with one identical fanaticism.



The “Freundeskreis Ernst Zundel”

Note: “Freundeskreis” is roughly translated from German to mean “Circle of Friends”. Therefore “Circle of Friends Ernst Zundel”.

Whether it's in Rostock or in Vienna, the “Freundeskreis Ernst Zundel” organizes and takes part in revisionist and anti-foreigner actions all over the place. The most zealous travelling activists of this circle of friends are Ewald Althans, Stephan A. Niemann, Stephan Wiesel, and Daniel Knecht (from Cologne). The differences of opinion between Althans (from Munich) and Niemann (from Bonn) seem to have been settled. Althans was even a guest at Niemann's wedding on April 20, 1993, along with other leading neo-nazis.

The logistical support given by this group of people during the riots in Rostock in August 1992 was documented by a press-photo taken in Rostock-Lichtenhagen on August 27, 1992, showing Althans, Niemann, and FAP-activist Norbert Weidner (from Bonn) and Ingo Hasselbach (from Berlin). Postcards sent by Weidner to the police and to the “Antifa-Jugendfront” dated August 25, 1992, proclaimed: “We would like to send you our greetings from Rostock, which is now a foreigner-free city. The mood here is great, and we are learning a lot, for example, what you can do with niggers and gypsies.”

East German Skinheads As Henchmen

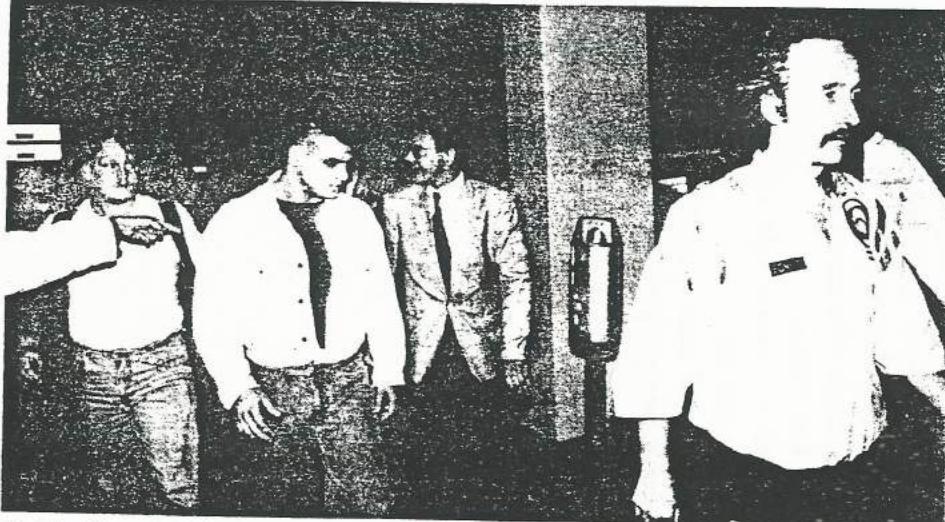
That such statements are to be taken seriously has been proven by events such as Solingen. After the riots in Hoyerswerda, the TV station SAT1 reported that neo-nazis, using the name “Initiative Gesamtdeutschland” (the Whole-German Initiative), held a meeting in Bonn in a space belonging to a refugee organization. At this meeting, according to SAT1, Niemann and Weidner planned attacks on refugees. This information also fits with the research carried out by the Israeli journalist Yaron Svoray, who planted himself in the German right-wing extremist scene for six months, and who met with Weidner in a secret house in Cologne-Porz. “Weidner was involved in attacks on foreigners in Bonn and Cologne,” Svoray reported. Independently of one another, a journalist from the magazine STERN and an informant from the Bonn right-wing scene stated that skinheads from East Germany, under orders from the local neo-nazi scene, were being trained for attacks and observation actions in the Cologne-Bonn region. Some of these East German skinheads were quartered in a secret house in St. Augustin-Hangelar. This also fits with statements made by Wolfgang Heinz to SAT1 in March 1993, that the “Deutsche Liga” was training East German skinheads for use in attacks.

The organizational work for these activities has been carried out by the “Initiative Gesamtdeutschland”, in cooperation with the “Deutsche Liga”, the “Freundeskreis Ernst Zundel”, the FAP, and the now illegal organization “Nationalistischen Front” (NF). There are regular meetings at a “round table” in Cologne.

Stephan Wiesel, who recently organized a series of NF meetings in Bonn along with Niemann, Wiedner, and Rene Mauritz, was given a one-year sentence (of which nine months were to be probation) by a court in Vienna for violating laws which outlawed national-socialism. Wiesel was raided by the Vienna police in September 1992. Police confiscated several copies of the Leuchter Report, various revisionist publications, and a Zundel flag. The publications, according to Wiesel, were intended for use at a student conference in Vienna. After serving his three months in prison, Wiesel moved to Munich.

Ernst Zundel himself has been free to spread his neo-nazi propaganda from his house via his “national radio project”. Various hateful programs can be heard on his short-wave radio broadcasts.

(translated from “blick nach rechts”, vol.10 #12, June 15, 1993)



Right: Bernd Schmitt, a leading behind-the-scenes neo-nazi who runs the Solingen martial arts school attended by one of the suspects arrested for the murder of five Turks in May. In the centre is Harald Neubauer, the fascist Euro-MP who visited Lithuania in 1992 with a delegation from the Deutsche Liga für Volk und Heimat

NF Nationalistische Front - Stützpunkt Rhein-Sieg
und

FÖRDERKREIS FREIES DEUTSCHLAND

Postfach [redacted]
W-5227 Schladern

Veranstaltungsbericht über den 5. Juni 1992

ERNST ZÜNDEL IN BONN

Arrested youth has nazi links *Searchlight, July 1993*

The 16-year-old youth arrested as the main suspect in connection with the Solingen multiple killing has wide links with the organised neo-nazi scene in Germany.

Christian Riha, his mother and her boyfriend Thomas Leck are all convinced fascists, as are the three men arrested in a police swoop on a memorial service for the victims, who are accused of being Riha's accomplices.

Riha lied to investigating police for three days to cover the tracks of his three neo-nazi accomplices. His fabrications were accepted by the police and officials of Alexander von Stahl's Federal Prosecutor's Office. The facts about Riha are far different from those regurgitated from his "confessions" by von Stahl and almost the entire German media.

Though only 16, Riha has been a regular attender at a martial arts school run by fascists in Solingen, where the nazi scene numbers about 180 people. The organiser of the school is Bernd Schmitt, one of Germany's key "behind the scenes" neo-nazis. Schmitt was a founder of the violent Freiheitliche Deutsche Arbeiterpartei in Solingen and is also an activist in Christian Worch's Gesinnungsgemeinschaft der Neue Front.

* When Ernst Zündel, the German-Canadian Auschwitz liar, spoke at a meeting in Bonn last year, Schmitt was in charge of security. A violent thug, Schmitt touts himself around as a would-be minder for the whole extreme-right spectrum and thus enjoys close links and apparently cordial relations with the banned Nationalistische Front, the Wiking Jugend, the Deutsche Liga für Volk und Heimat and Bela-Ewald Althans's Deutsche Jugend Bildungswerk.

Schmitt even has his own outfit: the Deutsche Hochleistungskampfkunstverband, which claims to be a martial arts group but also appears to serve as a strongarm squad for the banned Nationalistische Front (NF).

At a special congress of the NF, held in Kremmen near Berlin on 8 August last year, Schmitt was given the task of organising the NF's "fighting" activities. Because the Hochleistungskampfkunstverband was nominally independent from the NF it was not touched by last November's ban on the NF.

At home, too, Riha was surrounded by nazi influences. His mother – now removed to a luxury hotel by the German authorities – and her boyfriend are well known in the neo-nazi scene. Among their close friends are Christian Eitel, the thug who acts as a bodyguard for the manager of the nazi bonehead band Störkraft, and Torsten Lemmer, who sits on the Düsseldorf city council as a member of the extreme-right Freie Wählergemeinschaft.

Lemmer, a former security man for the fascist Euro-MP Harald Neubauer, is another thug. Both Eitel and Lemmer are involved in the publication of the nazi rag *Europa Vorn*, which recently described asylum-seekers as "filthy, thieving, raping foreigners", and are directors of Dorfmusik, a small independent record label that produces pro-nazi hate rock.

Apart from these contacts, Riha's mother was often seen among boneheads in Solingen.

Riha's alleged accomplices include at least one self-confessed member of Gerhard Frey's electoral front the Deutsche Volksunion (DVU), a fact which has been confirmed despite DVU denials. The DVU member, Markus G (full names have not been issued) aged 24, is also the bass guitarist in a "crash metal" band called Deterend.

The other two, Felix K, 16, and Chris B, 20, have also been active. Felix K, a doctor's son, admitted that Störkraft is his favourite band and was well known for his jacket with a patch bearing the slogan "All power to the Nazis". Chris B was a former Bundeswehr paratrooper from a wealthy middle-class background, whose activities included decorating his garden shed with swastikas. He was often seen with neo-nazis in Solingen.



Christian Worch

ZÜNDELS ARM IN DEUTSCHLAND:
DEUTSCHES JUGENDBILDUNGSWERK
c/o S. A. Niemann

ZÜNDELISTEN GEGEN ZIONISTEN

Das DJBW ist nicht ein Verein unter vielen. Das DJBW hat sich spezialisiert: Den Wissenstand verbessern, den Revisionismus verbreiten.

DENMARK

Auschwitz liars to gather? *Searchlight, MAY 1993*

Nazi plans for an international gathering in the south Denmark town of Kollund in mid-May suffered a setback when the organisers were banned from using a youth centre for the meeting. However they still claim the event will go ahead.

The meeting, billed as a "Commemoration of Nordic Poets" and organised by Auschwitz liar Thies Christophersen, will feature such notorious fascists, terrorists and criminals as Pedro Varela, Manfred Roeder, Udo Walendy, Wilhelm Stäglich and the Austrian Gerd Honzik.

Christophersen, a former SS guard in Auschwitz, who is now running personal bank accounts in six countries including South Africa and the USA, issued a personal appeal for yet another Austrian nazi and revisionist, Walter Oehnsberger, on 6 March.

Oehnsberger is currently sitting in a prison in Schleswig after being arrested disembarking from the Riga-Kiel ferryboat *Mercury I* in Kiel on 20 February. He had been in Memel in Lithuania.

The Austrian authorities have begun extradition proceedings against Oehnsberger who has been on the run since last July when an Austrian court sentenced him to two years' jail for seeking to revive national socialism.

The Forderwerk Mitteldeutsche Jugend

(FMJ) – a successor organisation to the banned Nationalistische Front – has issued notices of a "Revisionist Congress in Northern Schleswig (now Denmark)" to be held on the same dates, 17 to 22 May, as Christophersen's *Nordic kulturfest*.

The FMJ's announcement boasts that the top names in the Holocaust denial industry will take part: Ernst Zündel, Bert Eriksson, former leader of the banned Belgian terrorist VMO, and Robert Faurisson, the French revisionist. Bringing up the rear in the FMJ's programme is none other than David Irving.

Whether these are separate gatherings is not yet clear. However, it looks most unlikely that two relatively large nazi gatherings will take place simultaneously in the same part of southern Denmark.

Perhaps most interesting is that the announcements by Christophersen's rag, *Die Bauernschaft*, and the FMJ indicate the increasing cooperation between the leftovers of the banned "national-revolutionary" NF and its supposed rival, the much bigger Gesinnungsgemeinschaft der Neue Front, to which Christophersen is aligned.

The Leuchter Report: A Layman's Guide

Holocaust Denial And The Big Lie

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The attempt to justify an evil deed has perhaps more pernicious consequences than the evil deed itself. The justification of a past crime is the planting and cultivation of future crimes. Indeed, the repetition of a crime is sometimes part of a device of justification; we do it again and again to convince ourselves and others that it is a common thing and not an enormity.

(Eric Hoffer, *The Passionate State of Mind*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954.)

1) Introduction & Editorial Notes

This document provides a counterpoint to assertions commonly made by those who deny that anyone was gassed at the Auschwitz-Birkenau and Treblinka death camps during World War II; who, in fact, deny that the gas chambers even existed. (At least a million people were ruthlessly exterminated at Auschwitz, and seven-hundred-thousand more at Treblinka - the worst of the Nazi extermination camps in terms of victims slaughtered.)

The most prestigious source in Germany regarding the crimes of the Nazis during WW2, the "Institute for Contemporary History" in Munich, sums up the facts in a recent publication.

Treblinka (district Warschau, general government) from the end of July 1942 on had three gas chambers and received at the start of September 1942 furthermore ten larger gas chambers. Up to the dissolution of the camp in November 1943 altogether 700,000 Jews were killed here by carbon monoxide.

Auschwitz-Birkenau (in the formerly Polish, in 1939 adjoined to the "Reich" upper eastern Silesian area, south eastern of Kattowitz): The extermination camp in Birkenau, established in the second half of 1941, was joined to the concentration camp Auschwitz, existing since May 1940. From January 1942 on in five gas chambers and from the end of June 1943 in four additional large gassing-rooms gassings with Zyklon B have been undertaken.

Up until November 1944 more than one million Jews and at least 4000 gypsies have been murdered by gas. (Note that these numbers include only people gassed - many were murdered using more "conventional" means) This is by no means a replacement for serious research - just an exposé of common frauds like the "Leuchter report", and a guide to scholarly sources.

This document was prepared by Danny Keren and Jamie McCarthy, and edited to its present form by Ken McVay. Comments, corrections, and additions are welcome.

2) Overview

"His opinion on this report is that there were never any gassings or there was never any exterminations carried on in this facility. As far as I am concerned, from what I've heard, he is not capable of giving that opinion... He is not in a position to say, as he said so sweepingly in this report, what could not have been carried on in these facilities." Thus did the presiding judge dismiss Fred Leuchter's report as "ridiculous" and "preposterous" during the Canadian trial of Ernst Zundel. Lest there be any misunderstanding about the Court's finding: "On the question of the functioning of the crematoria (...) the judge's decision was unequivocal. He could not testify on this topic for a simple reason: "He hasn't any expertise." (Lipstadt, pg. 166)

Fred Leuchter is a man with no formal training in either chemistry or toxicology (he obtained a BA in history in 1964), and yet he claims to be a professional engineer - an assertion that has landed him in hot water in

his home state. In 1988, at the request of Canada's Ernst Zundel, Mr. Leuchter went to Poland and visited the site of the Auschwitz concentration camp; (Mr. Zundel financed Leuchter's trip to Poland.) The result of this journey was the "Leuchter Report." Here's what Mr. Leuchter had to say about his "investigation":

"The purpose [of the investigation and subsequent report] does not include a determination of any numbers of persons who died or were killed by means other than gassing or as to whether an actual Holocaust occurred. It, further, is not the intent of this author to redefine Holocaust in historical terms, but simply to supply scientific evidence and information obtained at the actual sites and to render an opinion based on all available scientific, engineering and quantitative data as to the purpose and usages of the alleged execution gas chambers and crematory facilities at the investigated locations." (Foner)

You will note, as we will demonstrate using Leuchter's own sworn testimony, that Mr. Leuchter failed to demonstrate any concern for the truth, even while under oath.

While testifying at Mr. Zundel's trial in Canada, Leuchter gave false evidence concerning his professional relationship with the administration of two American prisons regarding gas chambers, and proved himself to be unfamiliar with the most basic facts about the lethal gas Hydrogen Cyanide, including its flammability and the concentrations required for delousing purposes.

The "Leuchter Report" purports to "scientifically demonstrate" that people were not killed by Zyklon-B at Auschwitz. It is composed of old claims made by the French Holocaust denier Faurisson, as well as some new ones. Many of the claims appear in the Institute for Historical Review's "66 Q&A on the Holocaust" pamphlet, and also in arguments offered by others who deny the Holocaust.

Zyklon-B

Zyklon-B is a powerful insecticide. It releases HCN, Hydrocyanic acid, a gas - Zyklon-B is the carrier, a material soaked with the gas; usually it comes in the shape of small pellets or disks. HCN is what causes death. While interacting with iron and concrete, it creates compounds ("Hydrocyanic compounds"). Leuchter concedes that these compounds were found in the ruins of the gas chambers in Auschwitz (as reaffirmed by the findings of the Polish government institute, which completely rejects Leuchter's conclusions).

HCN is extremely poisonous to humans. It is used in execution gas chambers in the U.S.; the first such was built in Arizona in 1920. It is absurd to claim (as the deniers do), that Germany in the 1940's could not handle "technical difficulties" in using HCN for execution - "difficulties" that were easily solved in 1920. Moreover, the Germans had a lot of experience with HCN, as it was extensively used for delousing.

There were two types of gas chambers in Auschwitz: those used for delousing clothes ("delousing gas chambers") and those used for killing people on a massive scale ("extermination gas chambers"). The delousing gas chambers were a standard feature, and were left intact by the SS (as opposed to the extermination gas chambers, which were dynamited in an effort to conceal criminal activity from the rapidly approaching Soviet Army). The deniers try to confuse the issue by mixing the two types of chambers. For instance, they show pictures of the doors for the delousing chambers, and note that they are too weak to withstand the pressure of people

trying to escape. Of course, the doors for the extermination chambers are completely different, but that fact is quietly overlooked.

3) Point, Counterpoint

Holocaust denial often involves the same assertions, repeated endlessly, regardless of response. We present many of them for consideration here, along with our response.

The photographs we refer to can be found in Pressac's book.

4) Disparities In Hydrocyanic Compound Levels

Holocaust deniers often claim that since more hydrocyanic compounds were found in the delousing chambers than in the ruins of the so-called "extermination" chambers at Auschwitz, and the reverse would be true if people were actually gassed there, it is clear that no gassings occurred.

But - HCN is far more effective on warm-blooded animals (including humans) than on insects, so the period of exposure to HCN is far longer for delousing clothes than that required for homicidal gassings, and a much lower concentration is necessary to kill people instead of insects.

A concentration of up to 16,000 ppm (parts per million) is sometimes used, with exposure times of up to 72 hours, to kill insects, but as little as 300 ppm will cause death in humans within fifteen minutes or so.

Breitman offers background information about the development of Zyklon B as a killing device, and provides clear evidence that the Nazis determined the effective Zyklon B concentration through a process of trial and error.

When the difference in the concentration of gas required to kill insects and humans was mentioned in Leuchter's cross-examination in the Zündel trial, Leuchter responded: "I've never killed beetles. I, you know, I don't know. I haven't made computations for killing beetles" - Hardly the response one would expect from an "expert" on the subject...

Because of the relatively small concentrations required to exterminate humans as opposed to lice, and because of the far shorter exposure time required, the HCN in the gas chambers used to kill humans hardly had time to form chemical compounds on the walls.

The gas chambers were not very large (those in Kremas II and III were about 210 square meters), and the Zyklon B was dropped through four openings in the roof,

spreading the gas very quickly. These openings are still visible in the ruins of the gas chambers, and rare photographs of them, taken while the camp was in operation, exist, and copies are readily available (Brugioni et al) from the sources noted below. Since the concentration used was higher than the lethal one, death was swift.

Leuchter's data is further suspect because the delousing chambers where he obtained his samples were left intact by the SS, while the extermination chambers were destroyed. Clearly, their walls were exposed to the elements for forty-five years, which would certainly effect the validity of the samples taken. (The ruins of Krema II are covered with about three feet of water during certain periods of the year, and HCN compounds would eventually dissolve under such conditions. Nonetheless, so many gassings occurred there that some of the compound did remain).

Summarizing, the walls of the extermination gas chambers were in contact with HCN for a much shorter time than those of the delousing chambers, and for the last 45 years were exposed to surroundings which dissolve the compounds, while the delousing rooms were not. Therefore it is obvious that less traces of compounds would remain in them. This debunks the major "amazing discovery" in Leuchter's report, which, in retrospect, wasn't 'amazing' at all.

This fact - that all, or most, of the compounds would vanish during 45 years of exposure - is quite clearly stated in the report written by the experts at the Cracow Institute of Forensic Research:

Institute Of Forensic Research
In the name of Prof. Dr. Jan Sehn, Krakow
Division of Forensic Toxicology

Krakow, 24 Sept. 1990
Westerplatte 9 / Code 31-033
Tel. 505-44, 592-24, 287-50
Telex 0325213 eksad ...

"The hydrocyanic acid (HCN) that is released from the Zyklon B preparation is a liquid with a boiling point of about 27 degrees Celsius. It has an acidic character, and therefore forms compounds with metallic salts, which are known as cyanides. The salts of alkaline metals (such as sodium and potassium) are water soluble.

Hydrocyanic acid is a very weak acid, and accordingly its salts dissolve easily in stronger acids. Even carbonic acid, which is formed as a reaction of carbon

dioxide with water, will dissolve ferro-cyanide.

Stronger acids, such as sulfuric acids, easily dissolve the cyanides. The compounds of cyanide ions with heavy metals are longer lasting. This includes the already mentioned Prussian blue, although this will also slowly dissolve in an acidic environment.

Therefore, one can hardly assume that traces of cyanic compounds could still be detected in construction materials (plaster, brick) after 45 years, after being subjected to the weather and the elements (rain, acid oxides, especially sulfuric and nitrogen oxides). More reliable would be the analysis of wall plaster [samples] from closed rooms which were not subject to weather and the elements (including acid rain).

The discovery of hydrocyanic acid compounds in samples of material which had been subject to the elements can only be accidental."

The deniers often claim that the gas chamber in Krema I was left intact, and therefore its walls were not exposed to the elements. Curiously, they also make great issue of the fact that Krema I was converted into an air-raid shelter, and then rebuilt by the Soviet Army, after the liberation of the camp, to reproduce its original shape, saying that it has been used to mislead the public, who were told that people were gassed in the building. (The logic of their holding both views when it seems advantageous to do so will perhaps escape you, but then logic has not been a demonstrated asset when it comes to Holocaust denial. See #3)

The modification consisted of essentially removing some partitioning walls inside the gas chamber, which were added as a common feature of bomb shelters. Nonetheless, this is the room in which people were gassed; there are still traces of cyanide on its walls, as Leuchter admits (he found traces in 6 of 7 samples).

But - the gas chamber of Krema I was used only for a short time, before the conversion. This, and the fact that "only" about ten thousand people were murdered within it, compared to three-hundred-fifty-thousand and four-hundred-thousand in Kremas II and III, explains why relatively small amounts of cyanide compounds remain. The other Kremas were destroyed by the SS prior to the Soviet liberation.

Finally, cyanide compounds were found on the ventilation grills of the extermination chambers, proving beyond doubt that gassing did take place within.

5) The Explosive Property Of Zyklon B And Furnace Proximity

Holocaust denial often asserts that Zyklon B could not have been used for killing in the gas chambers, because it is explosive, and the furnaces were nearby.

They overlook, however the fact that the concentration of HCN necessary to cause death is nearly 200 times lower than that necessary to cause an explosion. Although the SS used a concentration higher than the lethal one, it was far less than what would be required to cause an explosion.

As a reference, one can look at "The Merck Index" and the "CRC handbook of Chemistry and Physics", or consult any manual dealing with toxicity and flammability of chemicals. For HCN, a concentration of 300 ppm (parts per million) kills humans within a few minutes (Merck, 632, entry 4688), while the minimal concentration that can result in an explosion is 56,000 ppm.

Frank Deis provides the following information from Merck, with editorial comments in [] brackets:

- Hydrocyanic acid; - "Blausäure" (German); CHN; molar weight 27.03 ... HCN. Prepared on a large scale by the catalytic oxidation of ammonia-methane mixtures [refs omitted]. May also be prepared by the catalytic decomposition of formamide. Conveniently prepared in the laboratory by acidifying NaCN or K4[Fe(CN)6]. <[Editor's note: this last formula is quite similar to, but different from Prussian Blue, also a major topic in the Leuchter Report. Prussian Blue is Ferric Ferrocyanide, or Ferric hexacyanoferrate (II). The



Ernst Zündel meets Fred Leuchter in Munich.

formula is Fe4[Fe(CN)6]3. The =ferric= salt of ferrocyanide is insoluble in water. Other salts, such as the "potassium" salt of ferrocyanide, are quite soluble in water> [more refs omitted]

Colorless gas or liquid; characteristic odor; very weakly acid (does not reddens litmus); burns in air with a blue flame; =intensely poisonous= even when mixed with air. d(gas) 0.941 (air = 1) <[Editor's note: notice, the gas is LIGHTER than air]>; d(liq) 0.687. mp -13.4. bp 25.6 <[latest defense of Leuchter made a big deal out of how the gas would condense out on the cold walls. This would clearly happen to some extent in a cold room. If the room were filled with people, the gas would stay warm]> Miscible with water, alc; slightly sol in ether. LC50 <[lethal concentration that kills 50% of test animals, NOTICE that this is dependent BOTH on time and on concentration!]> in rats, mice, dogs: 544 ppm (5 min), 169 ppm (30 min), 300 ppm (15 min), [ref omitted].

Human toxicity: High concn produces tachypnea (causing increased intake of cyanide) <[tachy = rapid, pnea = breathing]> then dyspnea <[dys = difficult, pnea = breathing]> paralysis, unconsciousness, convulsions, and respiratory arrest. Headache, vertigo, nausea, and vomiting may occur with lesser concentrations. Chronic exposure over long periods may cause fatigue, weakness. Exposure to 150 ppm for 1/2 to 1 hr may endanger life. Death may result from a few min exposure to 300 ppm. Average fatal dose <[ingested]> 50 to 60 mg. Antidote: Sodium nitrite and sodium thiosulfate.

Use: The compressed gas is used for exterminating rodents and insects and for killing insects on trees, etc. Must be handled by specially trained experts.

<[end of article]> (Merck, 632)

Cyanide is a small molecule. Basically it is toxic because it resembles the oxygen molecule, O₂ or OO looks like HCN to the binding sites in the mitochondria and also probably to the heme groups in hemoglobin and myoglobin. If Cyanide "sits down" on the cytochrome a/a₃ complex at the end of the mitochondrial respiratory chain, then the oxygen you breathe no longer does you any good. You can't use it as an acceptor for high energy electrons, and you can't make ATP by the usual method of oxidative phosphorylation. Your body makes you breathe faster at first, in an attempt to overcome it, and then cells start dying from lack of oxygen and lack of ATP energy.

In general, the statements about chemistry in Paul Grubach's defense of the Leuchter report seem valid. (JHR, V12, #4) The "premises" are of course open to question, or wrong. Yes, high concentrations of cyanide will cause formation of prussian blue on cold wet bricks that contain high levels of iron ions. But were the bricks really cold and wet? Was the air cold enough for the HCN to condense? Did "high concentrations" exist, given the relatively low concentrations required for killing human subjects, as opposed to insects?

Anyway, I hope this information proves useful. I teach Biochemistry at Rutgers University, and that's where my information about cyanide toxicity comes from. The Merck Index is a standard reference book that probably every library has. Frank Deis (DEIS@PISCES.RUTGERS.EDU)

6) Gas Chambers Could Not Have Been Opened Safely In 20-30 Minutes

The claim is often heard that it takes 20 hours to air a room which was disinfected with Zyklon-B, and therefore the eyewitness accounts giving a time of 20-30 minutes from when the gassing started to when the bodies were carried out is impossible, because the people carrying out the bodies would perish.

It is true that if one disinfects a building in ordinary commercial use, it should not be reentered within 20

hours. That figure, however, has no meaning relative to the extermination chambers, which were forcibly ventilated. Fifteen minutes was ample time to replace the air after a gassing. When ventilation was not used, the Sonderkommando (prisoners used as forced labor) who removed the bodies wore gas masks. The Germans had plenty of experience with gas, especially HCN, which was widely used for delousing. They knew how to work with it safely. It is absurd to use the 20 hour figure in this context, as it does not assume forced ventilation and takes a huge safety factor into account. The SS didn't care much for the safety of the Sonderkommando who had to enter the gas chambers to take the corpses out in any event. In some cases, these people did suffer from the remaining gas (see, for instance, Pressac, pg. 473)

Furthermore, what makes ventilation difficult and lengthy is the presence of rugs, furniture, curtains, etc. Needless to say, these were not present in the gas chambers - there was just bare concrete, making ventilation very fast and efficient.

If the "20 hours ventilation period" above was true, this would mean that the corpses of people executed using cyanide gas in U.S. prisons would remain tied to the chair 20 hours after they were killed... clearly nonsense, as Fred Leuchter, who claims expertise in gas chamber operation, knows full well.

7) The "Extermination" Chambers Were Actually Morgues

Holocaust denial often claims that the "alleged" extermination chambers were actually morgues, and that Zyklon-B was used in them as a disinfectant.

This claim stems from the fact that Hydrocyanic compounds were found on the ventilation grills of the gas chambers in Krema II and III (the chemical analysis was carried out by Dr. Jan Robel of the Cracow Forensic Institute in December 1945, and was part of the evidence in the trial of Auschwitz commander Hoess). This proves that gassing did take place in that chamber - but since this runs contrary to the deniers claims that it was an underground morgue, they claimed "a morgue is disinfected with Zyklon-B."

Unfortunately for the people offering this assertion as truth, Zyklon-B is useless for disinfecting corpses, as it does not kill anaerobic bacteria - it kills only aerobic organisms.

Finally, the "morgue" is specifically referred to as a "gassing cellar" in a letter from the Auschwitz construction department to SS General Kammler, January 29, 1943. Why call a morgue "gassing cellar"? And why is the other underground room called "undressing cellar"? (see Pressac, pg. 221; also The Final Solution: The Attempt to Exterminate the Jews of Europe, 1939-1945 - G. Reitlinger, South Brunswick, T. Yoseloff, 1968, p. 158.)

The following correspondence between an SS officer and the firm which manufactured the crematoriums shows that the underground cellars in Kremas II and III were to be preheated. Needless to say, this proves that they were not designed to serve as morgues; it does not make much sense to heat a morgue. It does make sense to heat a homicidal gas chamber, to facilitate the evaporation of the Zyklon-B.

Letter From SS-Sturmbannfuehrer Jahrling To Topf & Sons, March 6 1943 [Pressac, p. 221]

Subject: KL Auschwitz Krematorien II and III

In accordance with your suggestion, the service agrees that cellar 1 should be preheated with the air coming from the rooms of the 3 forced draught installations. The supply and installation of the ductwork and blowers necessary to this end are to be effected as soon as possible. As you point out in your above-mentioned letter, execution should commence this week. We would ask you to send in triplicate detailed quote for supply and installation.

At the same time, we would ask you to send an

DER ZWEITE LEUCHTER REPORT

DACHAU
MAUTHAUSEN
HARTHEIM

Erstellt auf Veranlassung von
Ernst Zündel

HISTORY BUFF BOOKS AND VIDEO
P.O. BOX ■■■■■ STATION "C"
HAMILTON, ONTARIO
CANADA L8H 7J3

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additional quotation for the modification of the air-extraction installation in the undressing room.

8) It Was Impossible To Kill 6 Million People At Auschwitz

"Judging by the amount and area of the gas chambers, and the number of the Kremas, it was impossible to kill 6 million people in the time interval in which the concentration camps existed."

No-one claims that 6 million people died at Auschwitz. Many died in other death camps, in the ghettos and in occupied Soviet territory. Estimates of the number of people who were gassed to death in Auschwitz vary, but the lowest is 900,000, and the highest about 1,600,000. It is obvious that the extermination and cremation facilities in Auschwitz could take care of such a number.

Just look at the photographs of the furnaces of Krema II (Pressac, pg. 367). There were five Kremas in Auschwitz. Number II, for instance, had 15 huge furnaces, especially designed to burn efficiently and quickly. Each could consume 3 to 4 bodies at once (remember that many children were present, and many of the people were emaciated), and do so in a maximum of 45 minutes. The SS experimented with different combinations of corpse types and coke to determine which would provide the most cost-efficient results! (Mueller, pg. 60-61; Klarsfeld, pg. 99-100)

The figure Leuchter gives as the maximum number of people that could be executed in a week - 1693 - is absurd, as is demonstrated by the following calculation for a single Krema, number II:

One gas chamber, about 210 square meters (2220 square feet) in area, easily accommodated a few hundred people, who were crammed into it. (See #19)

Fifteen furnaces, each capable of incinerating at least 3 bodies in 45 minutes, could dispose of at least 720 bodies in a 12-hour day.

In a single year, Krema II could incinerate over a quarter-million bodies. Add that to the capabilities of Kremas III, IV, and V, and you begin to get the picture. In addition, bodies were also burned in massive pits. Two gruesome photographs of these "burning pits", taken in secrecy in Auschwitz-Birkenau, have survived. They are

of reasonable quality, and show men standing inside a pile of naked bodies, with the smoking pit in front of them. Some bodies are being dragged into the pit. (The photographs are reproduced in Pressac, pg. 422)

As a reference, one can look at a letter dated June 20 1943, sent to SS General Kammler in Berlin, citing the number of bodies that can be disposed of in 24 working hours as 4,756. A photograph of the letter and its serial number in German archives appears in Pressac (pg. 247). (This is lower than $5 \times 1440 = 7,200$ because some of the Kremas had fewer furnaces than II and III. The exact breakdown, specified in the letter from Jährling to Kammler, is 340 corpses for Krema I, 768 for IV and V, 1440 for II and III.)

It is naive at best, and contemptuously dishonest, to claim that such a number of crematoriums were provided for anything other than the disposal of bodies created by the mass murder of helpless victims.

Leuchter arrives at his figures assuming that the people could occupy the gas chambers at a density of maximum 1 person per 9 square feet (!!) and that it would take a week (!!) to ventilate the gas chambers before they could be used for another mass execution. These assumptions are absurd.

Lastly, two other gassing installation existed in Auschwitz - the so-called "Bunker I" and "Bunker II". They were also demolished by the fleeing SS.

9) Doors Of Gas Chambers Too Weak To Prevent Escape

Holocaust denial asserts that the doors of the "alleged" gas chambers were much too weak to withstand the pressure of people trying to escape death from inside the chambers.

Since none of the Kremas remained in their original state (Bunker I & II and Kremas II, III, IV and V destroyed, and Krema I modified) there is no physical evidence as to what the doors of the extermination gas chambers looked like. However, a door which probably belonged to an extermination gas chamber was discovered in the camp's building yard; it is massive, and reinforced with iron bars. Furthermore, the small peephole is protected from the inside with a strong metal grid, probably installed so the victims would not break the glass in the peephole.

Those making this claim present pictures of doors for the delousing chambers, which were not fortified, presumably on the assumption that viewers are too inept

to notice the switch. For a photograph of a door probably used in an extermination gas chamber, see Pressac (pg. 486).

10) They Would Not Have Used Zyklon-B For Gassing

Holocaust denial often claims that if the Nazis had intended to kill people by lethal gassing, they would have used something other than Zyklon B.

Zyklon-B was in use at Auschwitz as a delousing agent, and was thus readily available. The Nazis had experience in its safe use as well, which made it even more attractive.

In addition, Zyklon B was easy to ship and to store, which also made it attractive to the SS, who ordered enough of it, as Höss pointed out in his testimony, to kill two million people. Yitzhak Arad mentions Christian Wirth's rejection of Zyklon-B for use in exterminations: Wirth developed his own ideas on the basis of the experiences he had gained in the Euthanasia program. Thus, in Belzec he decided to supply the fixed gas chamber with gas produced by the internal-combustion engine of a motorcar. [He] rejected Cyanide B which was later used at Auschwitz. This gas was produced by private firms and its extensive use in Belzec might have aroused suspicion and led to problems of supply. He therefore preferred a system of extermination based on ordinary, universally available gasoline and diesel fuel. (YVS XVI, pg. 211)

In a letter requesting for a truck to bring Zyklon-B to Auschwitz, the standard camouflage term "resettlement of Jews" is used to refer to extermination. Another such document asks for "material for special treatment" - another term used to disguise extermination (see Pressac, pg. 557).

Radio Message 13 SS Garrison Radio Station Auschwitz Origin WVHA [SS economic administration head office]

Received 2nd October 1942 In The Kommandantur Of Auschwitz Concentration Camp

The movement authorization for one 5 Ton truck with trailer to Dessau and back in order to pick up material for the resettlement of the Jews, is hereby accorded.

The authorization is to be given to the driver.

Liebehenschel
SS Lieutenant Colonel

Permanent representative of the head of the service with the rank of Waffen SS Lieutenant General

For file

Head of the radio station

When camp adjutant R. Mulka was asked by Judge Hofmeyer what "material for the resettlement of the Jews" meant, he answered "well, sure. Zyklon-B" (The Auschwitz trial in Frankfurt, 11 Sep. 1964).

11) The Gas Chambers Were Never Sealed...

...or there was no provision to exhaust the gas from them... or there was no way for the guards to release the pellets into them, or...

As stated earlier, the extermination chambers were dynamited by the SS when they deserted the camp. There is therefore no direct evidence of what they looked like when they were in operation other than a few photographs taken by the Allies and the SS during the war (See Brugioni). The construction plans do include the air extraction systems, as one readily sees and the air extraction system is mentioned in many documents. Some of the ventilation openings are still visible in the ruins of the gas chambers. The plans even include the shower heads that were placed in the gas chamber to mislead the victims.

It is a sad reflection on Leuchter's integrity and ability to use logic to see that he admits the Kremas were

demolished, yet continues to claim he can deduce from their current state how they looked in 1944, before they were blown up! The following is a verbatim excerpt from his cross-examination by Mr. Pearson, in the Zündel trial:

Q: Crematoria III has been demolished.

A: Um, there are still parts of Crematorium III there, but for the most part, the roof of the alleged gas chamber has crumbled and is all lying in bits and pieces in the basement of what would have been the alleged gas chamber.

Q: So, it's no longer subterranean?

A: That's correct. There's a hole in the ground.

Q: With respect to the gas chambers at Crematorium IV and V, those are totally demolished.

A: With the exception of the foundation, yes.

Q: So, all that was there for you to examine was the foundation of the building. Is that right?

A: That is correct.

Leuchter admits that the roof of the gas chamber of Krema III was all blown up and collapsed, and that Krema IV and V are gone except for the foundation! As for Krema II, his testimony is also intriguing:

Q: So, the gas chamber facility itself is presently underground?

A: Parts of it are and parts aren't.

Q: All right. And the parts that are underground, I take it that the roof is no longer whole; is that right?

A: Um, one of the roofs is broken into several pieces but it's essentially whole.

Q: It's broken in several pieces but it's essentially whole?

A: I mean it's not fragmented.

Q: How many pieces?

A: Three, I believe. I say that only to indicate that it's not fragmented. There are large slabs left of the roof.

Q: Right. And it's collapsed.

A: It's dropped several feet. It's partially collapsed.

Q: Is there dirt over it? Is it subterranean?

A: In some places there are dirt over it and some places there's no dirt.

Q: All right. And that's with respect to Crematorium II?

A: That's correct.

Even more incredible is to see what Leuchter writes in his report:

"Evidence as to Krema function is non-existent since Krema I's oven has been completely rebuilt, Kremas II and III are partially destroyed with components missing, and Kremas IV and V are gone".

"Are gone"? Yet, he can still conjecture about how they functioned before being destroyed...

The pictures of the gas chambers in their current state appear in Pressac. They are totally demolished and there is no way a reasonable person would claim to be able to conclude anything about how they functioned

DER LEUCHTER KONGRESS

in Bildern
Mit einem Begleitbericht
in deutscher Sprache
von
Dr. Michael Koll

The Leuchter Congress - Munich 23.3.'91

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Photounterschriften und englischer Text
von Ernst Zündel

before they were destroyed.

Leuchter further ridicules himself by stating that the gas chambers were never sealed and that using cyanide gas inside them would be dangerous. But, he admits that the gas was used in them (for delousing purposes, as he claims). This is absurd, of course; if they were not sealed, introducing the gas into them would be dangerous no matter what the purpose was. This obvious contradiction alone is reason enough to discard the "Leuchter report".

12) If The Gas Chambers Were Ventilated, The Gas Would Kill People Outside

Nonsense; it is all a question of concentration. Once the gas is released into the atmosphere, its concentration drops and it is no longer dangerous. Also, HCN dissipates quickly. The execution gas chambers in U.S. prisons are also ventilated directly into the atmosphere. Furthermore, if this argument would hold for the extermination chambers, it would hold for the delousing chambers as well, and one would have to conclude that no delousing chambers existed either.

13) If So Many People Were Actually Killed And Cremated, Where Is All The Ash?

After a person is cremated, quite a small amount of ash remains - it fits in a small urn, or a box. This means that ashes of thousands of people fit into one truck. The ash was either scattered around in fields, buried, or - in Auschwitz, for instance - dumped into a river.

14) The People Who Dropped The Zyklon-B Into The Chambers Would Have Died From The Gas Themselves

Utter nonsense. Like those who used the Zyklon-B in the delousing chambers, the SS men who carried out the gassings utilized gas masks. (The mind boggles at the realization that a "gas chamber expert" could not figure this out.)

15) The Death Lists From Auschwitz Do Not Show That Any People Were Gassed, And Point To A Smaller Number Of Victims

This is because those lists refer only to those who were assigned serial numbers. The majority of people transferred to the camp were classified as "unfit for work" and gassed immediately. This fact is noted, for instance, in a report written by top SS officer Franke-Gricksch to Himmler. These people were not registered anywhere, and no one recorded their names. (Testimony of Polish prisoner Aloiz Oskar Kleta, Shelly, pg. 284; Fertig, pg. 12; Fleming, pg. 174. Also, see testimony of Henryk Tauber, Pressac, pg. 488, as to how the SS routinely burned documents regarding the number of victims.)

16) There Was A Swimming Pool In Auschwitz, Hence It Could Not Have Been An Extermination Camp

Indeed, a water reservoir in Auschwitz I (the main camp) was converted to a swimming pool which was used by the camp's staff. Other means of entertainment for the SS personnel existed - a band composed of prisoners, and a brothel. How this "proves" that Auschwitz was not an extermination center is beyond the author of this text.

17) Much Of The Area Of Auschwitz Has A High Water Table, Therefore Corpses Could Not Be Burned In Ditches

There are pictures of these ditches with corpses burning in them. During the period in which Auschwitz was active, the SS had the area drained; as can be seen today, the drainage, which has not been maintained since 1945, has deteriorated and the water level had risen. Furthermore, the ditches were not used all the time, but only when there were not enough furnaces to cremate the victims or during the extermination of the Hungarian Jews, when so many people were murdered daily that the

furnaces could not handle the amount of corpses. The "incineration ditches" are known to have been active in October-November 1942 and the summer of 1944, which do not coincide with the period the snow melts and the water level rises.

18) How Come Eyewitnesses To The Gassings Survived? Why Didn't The Nazis Kill Them?

The answer is rather simple - the SS did kill almost all of them. After the war, for instance, there were about 70 survivors from Treblinka (more than 700,000 victims). These survivors escaped from the camp, mostly during the rebellion they carried out. Same for Auschwitz: nearly all the members of the "Special Commando" who saw the gassings and had to carry out and cremate the victims, were killed by the SS, but a small number of them escaped, mostly during the rebellion of October 1944. Another factor is the fact that in the end of the war Auschwitz was in total chaos - the Soviets were approaching fast, and they even bombed the camp. Thus there was no time to kill all the occupants, and some were transferred to camps within Germany. Many of them died in those forced "death marches".

19) Fumes From A Diesel Engine Are Not Toxic Enough To Kill People

(This claim is made with regard to the death camp of Treblinka. In other death camps, gasoline engines were used. The method of killing was simple - people were crammed into the gas chambers, and the exhaust of powerful engines was pumped into them.)

Nonsense. In a closed chamber, of course diesel fumes will kill. There was actually a study on this, and its results are reported in The Toxicity of Fumes from a Diesel Engine Under Four Different Running Conditions", by Pattle et al., British Journal of Industrial Medicine, 1957, Vol 14, pg. 47-55. These researchers ran a few experiments in which various animals were exposed to diesel fumes, and studied the results.



In the experiments, the exhaust of a small diesel engine (568 cc, 6 BHP) was connected to a chamber 10 cubic meters (340 cubic feet) in volume, and the animals were put inside it. In all cases, the animals died. Death was swifter when the intake of air to the engine was restricted, as this causes a large increase in the amount of carbon monoxide (CO) that is emitted. (See, for instance, "Diesel Engine Reference Book", by Lilly, 1985, p. 18/8, where it is stated that at a high air/fuel ratio the concentration of CO is only a few parts per million but for lower ratios (25:1) the concentration of CO can rise up to 3,000 ppm. It is very easy to restrict the air intake - the British researchers did so by partially covering the air intake opening with a piece of metal.)

Even in cases where the CO output was low, the animals still died from other toxic components - mainly irritants and nitrogen dioxide.

Now, the diesel engines used in Treblinka were much larger - they belonged to captured Soviet T-34 tanks. These tanks weighed 26-31 tons (depending on the model) and had a 500 BHP engine (compared to a mere 6 BHP in the British experiments). The volume of the extermination chambers in Treblinka is, of course, a factor. But the chambers' volume was about 60 cubic meters (2040 cubic feet); this is 6 times more than those in the British experiments, but the difference in the size of the engines is much larger than a factor of 6.

It should be remembered that what matters in CO poisoning is not the concentration of CO, but the ratio of CO to oxygen. In a small, gas-tight room, crammed full of people, oxygen levels drop quickly, thus making death by CO poisoning faster. As noted, other toxic components in the fumes further accelerate mortality.

The SS was aware of the fact that cramming as many people as possible into the gas chamber, thus leaving no empty spaces, would accelerate mortality. This is evident, for instance, from a letter regarding "gassing vans" (used in the Chelmno extermination camp and other locations) sent to SS-Obersturmbannfuehrer Walter Rauff, 5 June 1942. The letter is quite long, but here is the relevant part:

"2) The vans are normally loaded with 9-10 people per square meter. With the large Saurer special vans this is not possible because although they do not become overloaded their maneuverability is much impaired. A reduction in the load area appears desirable. It can be achieved by reducing the size of the van by c. 1 meter. The difficulty referred to cannot be overcome by reducing the size of the load. For a reduction in the numbers will necessitate longer period of operation because the free spaces will have to be filled with CO. By contrast, a smaller load area which is completely full requires a much shorter period of operation since there are no free spaces."

Another gruesome testimony to the "science of gassing" developed by the SS is the letter from Dr August Becker to SS-Obersturmbannfuehrer Rauff, 16 May 1942 (Nazi Conspiracy, pg. 418):

"The application of the gas is not undertaken correctly. In order to come to an end as fast as possible, the driver presses the accelerator to the fullest extent. By doing that the persons to be executed suffer death from suffocation and not death by dozing off as was planned. My directions have now proved that by correct adjustment of the levers death comes faster and the prisoners fall asleep peacefully. Distorted faces and excretions, such as could be seen before, are no longer noticed."

Additional information was published to several UseNet [aka Internet - ed.] newsgroups in November of 1993, in which smullins@ecn.purdue.edu quotes Holtz (see Recommended Reading section) and Elliot. A quick scan of the data clearly shows the difference in oxygen and carbon monoxide levels found in diesel exhaust under different fuel-air mixture conditions:

Exhaust gas composition of a diesel engine, running at the correct fuel-air ratios (% by volume):

O₂: 1.5%
CO₂: 13.5%
CO: 0.5%

Exhaust gas composition of a diesel engine running at a fuel-air ratio of 0.094 (% by volume):

O₂: 0.3%
CO₂: 10.2%
CO: 6.0%



Fred Leuchter and David Irving at a press conference in Munich.

Under proper direction the Jews should now in the course of the Final Solution be brought to the East in a suitable way for use as labor. In big labor gangs, with separation of the sexes, the Jews capable of work are brought to these areas and employed in road building, in which task undoubtedly a great part will fall out through natural diminution.

The remnant that finally is able to survive all this - since this is undoubtedly the part with the strongest resistance - must be treated accordingly since these people, representing a natural selection, are to be regarded as the germ cell of a new Jewish development. (See the experience of history).

In the program of the practical execution of the Final Solution, Europe is combed through from the West to the East."

The claims often made by Holocaust deniers about emigration of Jews after the war are preposterous. For instance, there were 370,000 Jews in Palestine in 1937, and 600,000 in 1948. The numbers arrived at by the Anglo-American committee for studying the Holocaust are the following:

(Conclusions of the Anglo-American committee for studying the Nazi genocide inflicted on the Jews of Europe, with exact breakdown, country by country.)

Numbers of missing Jews (post-war minus pre-war):

Germany - 195,000
Austria - 53,000
Czechoslovakia - 255,000
Denmark - 1,500
France - 140,000
Belgium - 57,000
Luxemburg - 3,000
Norway - 1,000
Holland - 120,000
Italy - 20,000
Yugoslavia - 64,000
Greece - 64,000
Bulgaria - 5,000
Romania - 530,000
Hungary - 200,000
Poland - 3,271,000
USSR - 1,050,000

Less dispersed refugees (308,000)

Total number of Jews that were exterminated = 5,721,500

Some estimates are lower, and some are higher, but these are the magnitudes in question. Recent evidence shows that the number of ex-USSR victims was actually underestimated. About 6 million non-Jewish civilians were killed by the Nazis - mostly in Poland and Yugoslavia.

21) The "Myth" Of The Holocaust Was Created Solely For The Financial Benefit Of Israel

Holocaust denial often asserts that the sole reason that the "Holocaust hoax" has been promulgated was that it created a financial windfall for the State of Israel. Deborah Lipstadt provides this information in "Denying the Holocaust":

"Israeli officials detailed their claims against Germany in their communique of March 1951 to the Four Powers, and this document became the official basis for the reparations agreement. It contained an explanation of Israel's means of calculating the size of the reparations claim. In the communique Israeli officials explained that Nazi persecution had stimulated 'a second Jewish exodus' of close to five hundred thousand. Based on the size of this exodus, Israel determined the amount of the reparations it would request:

The government of Israel is not in a position to

obtain and present a complete statement of all Jewish property taken or looted by the Germans, and said to total more than \$6 thousand million. It can only compute its claim on the basis of total expenditures already made and the expenditure still needed for the integration of Jewish immigrants from Nazi-dominated countries. The number of these immigrants is estimated at some 500,000, which means a total expenditure of \$1.5 thousand million.

It seems hardly necessary to point out that since the money the state received by based on the cost of resettling "survivors", had Israel wanted to increase the amount of reparations it obtained from Germany it would have been in its interest to argue that fewer than six million had been killed and that more had managed to flee to Israel." (Lipstadt, pg. 57)

22) Leuchter's "Credibility," Or Rather, His Lack Of Same

Leuchter's claims during his Zundel testimony, and the reality of his perjury, Leuchter's admission that he is not an engineer (in American court), and court order to quit publishing "reports" which claim engineering expertise.

In his article of January 11, (Spotlight, "Major Historical Fact Uncovered," January 11, 1993), Foner discusses the Canadian trial of Ernst Zundel, and tells us: "Zundel went looking for an expert on executions, particularly gassings. He found Leuchter, who specializes in the design and fabrication of execution hardware used in prisons throughout the United States." (Foner, pg. 3)

Although Leuchter is touted by Neo-Nazi publications and Holocaust deniers as an "expert," Mr. Leuchter's own testimony at the Zundel trial made it clear that he was neither an expert nor a credible witness.

The following is taken from Leuchter's testimony at the Zundel trial (Douglas Christie, Zundel's attorney is the questioner) - following the testimony are verbatim quotes from two American prison officials, which were obtained after Leuchter's testimony at the trial. We believe you will have no difficulty in determining the value of Mr. Leuchter's credentials after considering both:

Q: And what is your relationship with the operation of those facilities [i.e. gas chambers] in those two States [California and North Carolina]?

A: We consulted with both States, California primarily on a heart monitoring system to replace the older type mechanical diaphragm stethoscope that's presently in use. We will be shipping to them shortly and installing a new heart monitor for both chairs in their gas chamber.

Q: You are consulted by the State, I understand?

A: Yes, Juan Vasquez.

Q: I see. And in North Carolina?

A: North Carolina. My discussions and work was with one Nathan Reise, and he had some work done by their maintenance personnel on their gas chamber two years ago, and they had a problem with the gasket on a door leaking. At which point, we discussed it with him and recommended remedial procedures to change the gas chamber.

Q: And he consults you in regard to those matters?

A: He does.

What do those two facilities have to say about the matter? First, the warden at San Quentin (California) responds:

"I can inform you, however, that San Quentin has not contracted with Fred A. Leuchter, Jr. for the installation of a heart monitoring system or for any other work." Signed: Daniel B. Vasquez, Warden (California)

The data clearly demonstrates that simply restricting the air intake of the engine, any diesel engine will produce sufficient CO to be clearly and rapidly fatal (6% CO represents roughly 60,000 ppm). This data (Holtz & Elliot) appeared in "Transactions of the ASME" in early 1941, and was probably known to the Nazis.

Mr. Mullins has also published an article to UseNet which deals with Berg's "The Diesel Gas Chambers: Myth Within a Myth," and which demonstrates not only how diesel engines can quickly produce highly toxic levels of gasses, but which uses Berg's own references to do so.

20) There Were Not Enough Jews In Europe To Account For The Number Of 6 Million Victims

This claim is ridiculous, as attested to by all population statistics of that time, including the numbers of Jews appearing in many original Nazi documents... for instance:

Extracts from the minutes of the Wannsee conference, January 20 1942, regarding the "Final Solution of the Jewish Question" [Trials of War Criminals Before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals - Washington, U.S Govt. Print. Off., 1949-1953, Vol. XIII, pg. 210]
[...]

"II. At the beginning of the meeting the Chief of the Security Police and the SD, SS Lieutenant General Heydrich, reported his appointment by the Reich Marshal [Goering] to service as Commissioner for the preparation of the Final Solution of the European Jewish Problem..."

In the course of this final solution of the European Jewish Problem, approximately 11 million Jews are involved. They are distributed among individual countries as follows:

A.
Original Reich Territory [Altreich] - 131,800
Austria - 43,700
Eastern territories - 420,000
Government General [Nazi occupied Poland] - 2,284,000
..
..
The Netherlands - 160,800
..
..
Rumania, including Bessarabia - 342,000
..
..
Hungary - 742,800
USSR - 5,000,000
..
..
White Russia, excluding Bialystok - 446,484
[Many countries deleted for brevity]

TOTAL over 11,000,000

The engineers of horror

BY GERALD FLEMING
THE NEW YORK TIMES
LONDON

ON March 4, 1946, agents of the Red Army's military intelligence branch in the occupied German city of Erfurt arrested four senior engineers of the German firm of Topf and Söhne, whose nameplate appeared on cremation furnaces at concentration camps in Buchenwald, Dachau and Gross-Rosen in Germany, at Mauthausen in Austria, and at Auschwitz-Birkenau in Poland.

Ludwig Topf, the managing director, had committed suicide in May, 1945. His brother, Ernst-Wolfgang Topf, had fled the Soviet-occupied zone. The four engineers — Gustav Braun (Topf's technical director), Kurt Prüfer, Karl Schulze and Fritz Sander — may well have thought themselves safe. Mr. Prüfer had been interrogated and released by officers of the American Third Army, the first Allied troops to enter Erfurt. He had evidently persuaded the Americans that the crematoriums he had helped design and build were in concentration camps for health reasons only.

That the death-camp crematoriums differed significantly from those used for civilian purposes was not apparent, because Berlin had ordered the equipment dynamited and camp records destroyed on Nov. 26, 1944.

But unlike the U.S. Third Army, the Soviets had captured, at Auschwitz-Birkenau, the vast files of the Auschwitz Waffen SS and Police, which detailed the construction of the technology of mass death, complete with the precise costs of crematoriums and calculations of the number of corpses each could incinerate a day.

The papers showed, for example, that on June 30, 1942, the camp command launched a crematorium-building program that added 46 incineration muffles to the six in its existing furnaces. (A "muffle" is a boxlike, bricklined structure within a furnace into which objects to be incinerated are inserted.) These made possible the killing of a large number of the camp's Jews between March and July of 1943. Each *krematorium* consisted of an undressing room, a gas chamber and a room containing the incineration furnaces. They were designed and built by Topf and Söhne.

When the Soviet authorities came into possession of these detailed records, they were able to de-

termine the full extent of the engineers' participation in the Final Solution. They did not release the four men.

In *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, published in 1989, Jean-Claude Pressac notes the four engineers disappeared from the records after their arrest. "For the historian, the trace ends there for the moment," he wrote.

THIS May, I discovered documents, never before available, detailing both the fate of these engineers and the full extent of their knowing participation in the Holocaust.

Since 1990, after I read an article in Izvestia noting that the Auschwitz Central Building records had been captured by Soviet troops and were still in Soviet archives, I have been studying these papers with the permission of the Russian authorities. My search for related material in the archives turned up File 17/9 of the Red Army's intelligence branch.

Why search for more documentation about these crimes? The answer is simply that as the death camps recede into history we can no longer assume that the world knows what once seemed so horribly certain. According to one poll cited recently in The Times of London, 22 per cent of adults living in the U.S. say it is possible the Holocaust never happened and 12 per cent more say they do not know if the Holocaust was possible. Such ignorance is fertile ground for revisionist pseudo-historians who deny the Holocaust happened. Against such arrogant and malevolent manipulation of history, the records of these interrogations, translated from the Russian, speak for themselves.

Below, excerpted, is the testimony of three earnest, conscientious men who had been concerned with improving the performance of equipment they modified for the purpose demanded by Berlin: rapid and efficient cremation of human beings killed in gas chambers.

Against the fading of memory, and against those who cynically spurn the truth, these transcripts are a detailed and forceful testament to a horror that cannot be denied.

Gerald Fleming, emeritus reader in German at the University of Surrey, is author of Hitler and the Final Solution.



How conscientious men built machines of death

Globe-mail 9.1.24

Kurt Prüfer, senior engineer of Topf and Söhne, was interrogated in Erfurt, Germany, on March 5, 1946.

Question. Who besides you participated in the construction of the furnaces?

Answer. From 1941-42, I constructed the furnaces. The ventilation systems of the *kremas* [crematoriums] were constructed by senior engineer Karl Schultze.

Q. How often and with what aim did you visit Auschwitz?

A. Five times. The first time [was] at the beginning of 1943, to receive orders of the SS Command where the *kremas* were to be built. The second time [was] in spring 1943 to inspect the building site. The third time was in autumn 1943 to inspect a fault in the construction of a *krema* chimney. The fourth time [was] in September-October 1944, when I visited Auschwitz in connection with the intended relocation of the crematoriums, since the front was getting nearer. The crematoriums were not relocated . . . there were not enough workers.

Q. Were you the sole Topf engineer in Auschwitz in spring 1943?

A. No, Schultze was with me. I saw personally about 60 corpses of women and men of different ages, which were being prepared for incineration. That was at 10 in the morning. I witnessed the incineration of six corpses and came to the conclusion that the furnaces were functioning well.

Q. Did you see a gas chamber next to the crematorium?

A. Yes. Between the gas chamber and the crematorium there was a connecting structure.

Q. Did you know that in the gas chambers and in the crematoriums there took place the liquidations of innocent human beings?

A. I have known since spring 1943 that innocent human beings were being liquidated in Auschwitz gas chambers and that their corpses were subsequently incinerated in the crematoriums.

Q. Who is the designer of the ventilation systems for the gas chambers?

A. Schultze was the designer of the ventilation systems in the gas chambers, and he installed them.

Q. Why was the brick lining of the muffles so quickly damaged?

A. The bricks were damaged after six months because the strain on the furnaces was colossal.

Q. What motivated you to continue with the building of the other crematoriums as senior engineer with Topf?

A. I had my contract with the Topf firm and I was aware of the fact that my work was of great importance for the National Socialist state. I knew that if I refused to continue with this work, I would be liquidated by the Gestapo.

Ten days later, on March 15, 1946, Mr. Prüfer was interrogated again.

Q. How long have you been building crematoriums for concentration camps?

A. Since 1940. I was asked by Ludwig Topf to build a three-muffle-furnace crematorium. He told me that this is an order from the SS Command and that it must be completed urgently. In the same year, the SS leadership accepted the three-muffle furnaces designed by me, and thereafter Topf and Söhne began this work under my direction. From 1940 to 1944, 20 crematoriums for concentration camps were built under my direction — for Buchenwald, Dachau, Mauthausen, Auschwitz and Gross-Rosen.

A week earlier, on March 7, 1946, Fritz Sander had said during questioning that in 1942 he had a discussion with Mr. Prüfer concerning the capacity of the *krema* furnaces. Mr. Prüfer said the furnaces could not cope with the number of corpses that had to be incinerated.

I decided to design and build a crematorium with a higher capacity. I completed this project in November, 1942 — a crematorium for mass incineration, and I submitted this project to a State Patent Commission in Berlin.

This *krema* was to be built on the conveyor-belt principle. That is to say, the corpses must be brought to the incineration furnaces without interruption. When the corpses are pushed into the furnaces, they fall onto a grate, then slide into the furnace and are incinerated. The corpses serve at the same time as fuel for the heating of the furnaces.

Q. Although you knew about the mass liquidation in crematoriums, you devoted yourself to designing and creating higher-capacity incineration furnaces for crematoriums — and on your own initiative.

A. I was a German engineer and a key member of the Topf works and I saw it as my duty to apply my specialist knowledge in this way in order to help Germany win the war, just as an aircraft-construction engineer builds airplanes in wartime, which are also connected with the destruction of human beings. Mr. Sander's design was never carried out.

On Feb. 18, 1948, Karl Schultze was interrogated in Butyrskaya Prison, Moscow, where he, Mr. Prüfer and Mr. Braun had been transferred from custody in eastern Germany.

Q. In which concentration camps did Topf build crematoriums?

A. As far as I know, Topf and Söhne carried out the *krema* building program in the period 1940-1944. During this period, *kremas* were built by Topf in Buchenwald, Mauthausen, Auschwitz and other camps. The gas chambers were built only in Auschwitz.

Q. What was your personal part in these *krema* building operations and what was Prüfer's part?

A. Prüfer was an expert. He designed and constructed these crematoriums and led the building operations in the concentration camps. I was responsible for the ventilation systems and for air injection into the muffles. I personally led the installation work in Auschwitz crematoriums and gas chambers. For this purpose, I travelled to Auschwitz three times in 1943.

Q. Which other concentration camps did you visit?

A. Apart from Auschwitz, I was also in Buchenwald. There I installed the ventilation system for the camp heating system. In Gross-Rosen I supervised the gas injection into the *krema* furnaces for the purpose of increasing the incineration capacity. I acted in the same capacity in Dachau, Mauthausen and Buchenwald.

(In another interrogation, Mr. Schultze was shown a letter dated Dec. 9, 1940, from Topf and Söhne to the SS Building Administration regarding the installation of ventilation systems in the morgue of *krema* 1 at the original camp at Auschwitz, before a larger camp was built at nearby Birkenau, in 1941.)

Q. From this letter, we may deduce that already in 1940 the firm Topf and Söhne considered the questions relating to the equipment of gas chambers. What is your explanation?

A. The letter of Dec. 9, 1940, is from me. It must have dealt with the question of ventilation in the morgues of *krema* that J. Prüfer was negotiating with SS Oberscharführer Urbanczyk. The result of the negotiations [was] the commission, from the SS Building Administration, for the preparation of a project of building works for the ventilation systems in the morgues. I did not know the purpose of installing these ventilation systems, nor did it become known to me that these morgues were to be used as gas chambers.

Q. How did you participate in setting it up?

A. I was never in *krema* 1 and did not personally carry out any installation work there. I did not know that in the crematoriums in Auschwitz-Birkenau innocent human beings were being liquidated. I thought criminals were being killed who had been sentenced to death because of crimes they had committed against the German Army in Poland and other occupied territories. I am a German and supported the government in Germany and the laws of our government. Whoever opposes our laws is an enemy of the state. I did not act on personal initiative but as directed by Ludwig Topf, I was afraid of losing my position and of possible arrest.

Q. Your views do not really differ from the views of a Nazi.

A. No, I was not a member of the NSDA [National Socialist German Workers Party]. I only respected and acted according to the laws of my country.

THE CORPSES FALL ONTO A GRATE, THEN SLIDE INTO THE FURNACE AND ARE INCINERATED. THUS, THEY ALSO SERVE AS FUEL

Fritz Sander died of a heart attack on March 28, 1946, while in Red Army custody in Germany. In 1948, Kurt Prüfer, Gustav Braun and Karl Schultze were sentenced to "25 years deprivation of liberty" and sent to a special penal camp of the Ministry of the Interior. According to the archives, Mr. Prüfer died of a brain hemorrhage on Oct. 24, 1952, in a prison camp hospital. Mr. Braun and Mr. Schultze were released on Oct. 5, 1955. For their significant contributions to the construction of highly efficient homicidal gas chambers, they served nine years and seven months in prison.



Zundel's Gotta Go!!

Who Is Ernst Zundel?

Ernst Christof Friedrich Zundel, a 54-year old native to West Germany, emigrated to Canada in 1958. Settling in Toronto, he set up a base of operations, involving himself more within fascist circles as his major efforts became devoted to proving that the holocaust was a hoax.

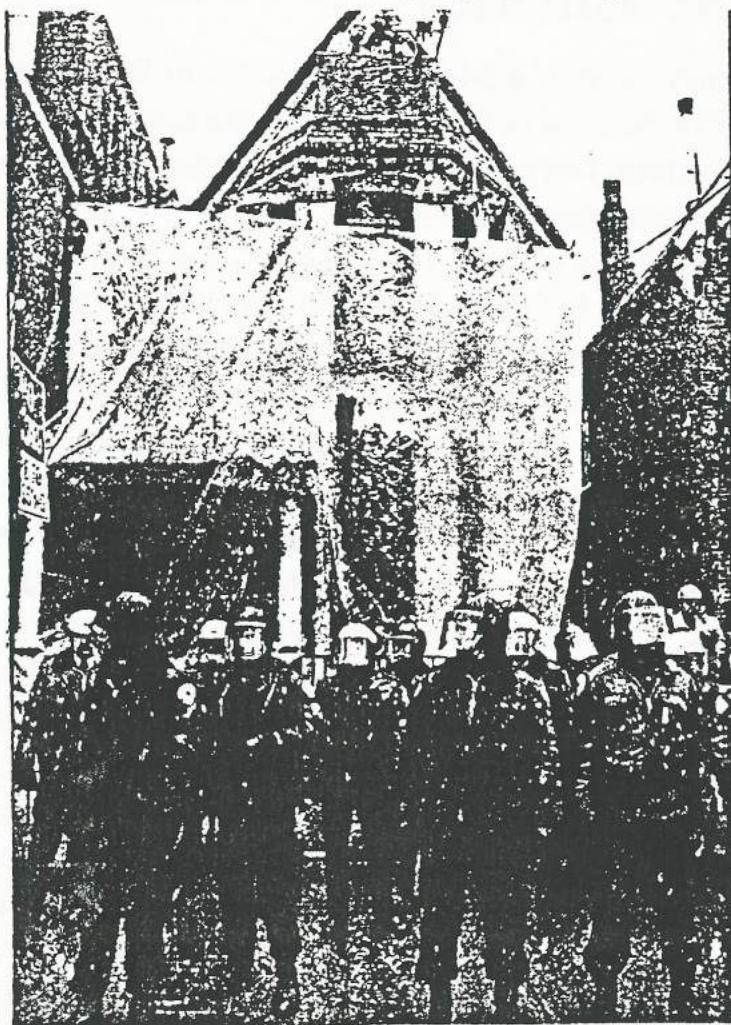
Most people remember Ernst Zundel from his run-ins with the courts throughout the 80's, surrounding his production and distribution of materials denying the Holocaust. From a fascist viewpoint, the importance of Holocaust denial is that the Holocaust itself is the main obstacle to the acceptance of fascist ideas within the dominant society. Pamphlets such as "Did Six Million Really Die?" and the "Leuchter Report" denied the existence of the gas chambers and claimed that the deaths of Jews, Gypsies, Lesbians and Gays, disabled people, sex-trade workers and Communists, in the gas chambers was a Jewish-propagated hoax to extract West German reparations for Israel. A four-page pamphlet written by Zundel entitled "The West, War and Islam" claims that Zionists, freemasons, bankers, and communists are joined in an international conspiracy against Islamic states. He was originally charged under Section 177 of the Criminal Code (knowingly spreading false news) for publishing false information about the holocaust, leading to his conviction in Jan/85, entailing a sentence of 15 months in jail. A month later, he was let off on a property bail and in 1987, his charge was overturned by the Ontario Court of Appeal. At his retrial in 1988, Zundel paid his experts to testify for him, hereby creating a battle

over the question of the holocaust while shielding himself from testifying. After a lengthy show-trial and a series of appeals, the Supreme Court dismissed charges against him on August 27, 1992. Following this verdict, he stated he would continue to spread his view that the murder of six million Jews in Nazi-camps in WWII never happened.

These trials placed the holocaust itself on trial and sidetracked the liberal community into the freedom-of-speech issue. Zundel used them to promote his propaganda and play out his 'court theatre' in the international spotlight. Zundel claimed a massive victory for the white-supremacist movement and since then he has continued his hate-mongering virtually unhampered.

What He Does...

Ernst Zundel is a key player in the growing international neo-nazi movement. Following a pipe-bomb attack on his car in 1984, he turned his house into a virtual fortress, complete with video cameras and super-sensitive microphones. Operating from this bunker at 206 Carlton here in Toronto, Zundel runs one of the largest neo-nazi propaganda operations in the world providing fascist



movements around the globe with a steady flow of information, particularly in Germany where it is harder to obtain illegal nazi-publications. By 1980, Zundel claimed to mail his fascist material to forty-five countries and in fourteen languages. Alongside his service 'Samisdat Publishing Ltd,' Zundel also runs short-wave radio broadcasts in the U.S. and in Germany. He produces his own television show produced and filmed here and beamed from the U.S. by Teleport Denver Ltd. via Galaxy 3, available to anyone with a satellite dish in North America. He has produced upwards of 50 videos

on subjects such as 'revisionist' perspectives on the WWII and the holocaust, featuring the likes of David Irving and Zundel's defense lawyer, Doug Christie. Zundel funnels over \$600,000 (CAN) in funds a year to Germany alone to pay for fascist information campaigns, speaking tours and to help start up budding neo-nazi skinhead groups. Ernst Zundel has provided the fuel which has in part, led to the fire-attacks on refugee centres and countless murders of the so-called enemies of the white race. According to German authorities, the bulk of material seized in raids on nazi-hideouts has come from Canada.

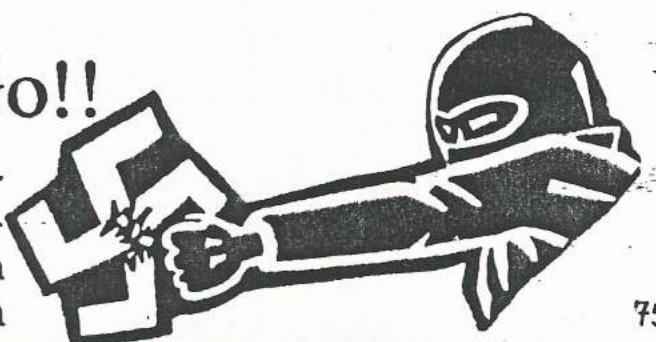


...And Who He Works With

The fascists at home and abroad look to this self-proclaimed 'guru' of the far-right as a hero, dedicated to their cause. Zundel travelled to Germany five times in 1989 and today holds together his strong ties with the fascist movement abroad. His public relations man in Germany, Ewald Althans, received regular financial donations from Zundel to finance his centre of operations and recruitment drives. Zundel also has strong ties with Christian Worch, a prominent neo-Nazi organizer who assisted in the co-ordination of fascist assaults on the refugee centre in Rostock. These are only two examples of the countless links which Zundel has forged with fascist organizers in Europe. Here in Canada, Zundel has publicly disavowed the efforts of the Ku Klux Klan, instead opting for the concepts of more violent groups such as the Church of the Creator (COTC) to advance the movement he envisions and builds towards in the 90's.

Zundel's Gotta Go!!

On November 24, 1993, Anti-Racist Action called for a demonstration, targeting Zundel's bunker on Carlton Street. Over 300 officers on



foot including the Public Order Unit, Emergency Task Force, and upwards of 20 undercover cops were on the scene, surrounding the crowd of 150 anti-racists. Following a few speeches and several paint and egg attacks on Zundel's house, the police moved in, breaking up the crowd and brutalizing demonstrators. Several ARA activists and supporters were arrested, including a reporter from a community radio station. Zundel somehow got rewarded with this massive show of police protection for which Metro spent an estimated \$200,000!! This gives some idea as to how far the Canadian state will go to defend and harbour this neo-nazi propagandist.

Shut Down Zundel's Hate-Quarters!

Ernst Zundel has been operating in our city unchecked for too long. His financial enterprises and information campaigns have provided the rising neo-Nazi movement with an extremely strong brace with which it exerts its 'opinions and views' through terror and violence against its enemies. The lack of action on behalf of the courts has not only allowed Zundel to continue his operations, it has made him look invincible in the face of opposition. It's time to end the charade and bring the curtains down on his operation. It's time for community action.

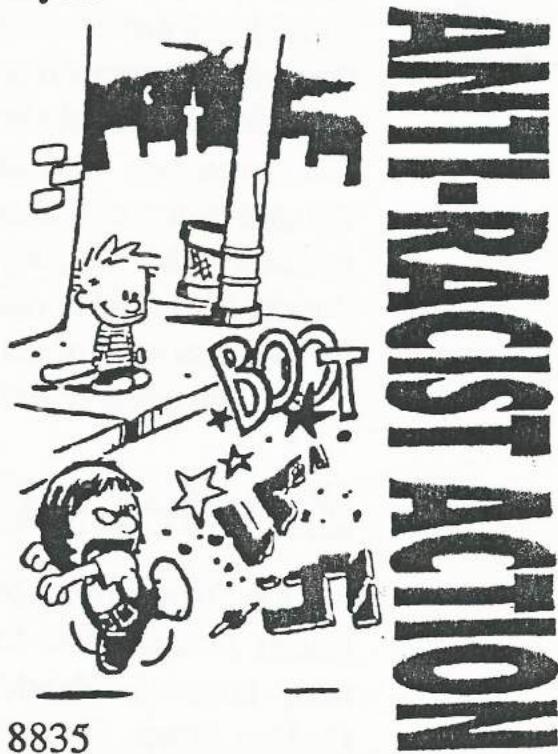
For those who are concerned about the rise of fascism in Europe and its implications in Canada, the best kind of solidarity we can offer at the present time is by advancing the campaign to shut Ernst Zundel's hate-quarters down and show him that he hasn't won the battle yet!

What You Can Do

If we are to shut down Zundel we need your help in the following areas:

- Research and identify all sources of support and suppliers of Zundel's work.
- Spread the word. Contact ARA for an info package on Zundel.

Anti-Racist Action
P.O. Box 664, Stn. C
Toronto, Ont.
M6J 3S1 Canada Infoline: 416 631 8835



8 Anti-Racists Arrested at Protest Against Toronto Neo-Nazi Ernst Zundel

To: Community Organizations

From: Anti-Racist Action

Date: November 30, 1993

Re: Anti-Racist Action Demonstration of November 24, 1993



Dear Friends:

Many of you have supported and endorsed demonstrations organized by Anti-Racist Action, and we thank you for your ongoing support and dialogue with us. We recognize that without grassroots work against racism and anti-semitism, sexism, homophobia, ableism and class exploitation, our own anti-racist and anti-fascist work would be of little use. Conversely, gains made towards a just society can be quickly threatened by racist-right backlash. We need to continue working together to ensure that anti-fascist work is not isolated from ongoing anti-racist struggles in the broader movement.

ARA is a youth-oriented group which has been mobilizing to expose, oppose and confront far right organizing in Toronto and surrounding areas. In the past year, we have succeeded in driving white supremacist groups like the Heritage Front and the Church of the Creator further underground, and in exposing their "white pride" rhetoric as window-dressing for their real genocidal goals. In particular, a direct action against Gary Schipper, the writer and "voice" of the Heritage Front telephone helpline last June 11, disrupted their work to the point that the Front has been unable to organize openly in Toronto since that time.

Given these successes, we decided to organize a demonstration against Ernst Zundel, a major figure in the international Nazi movement. From the comfort of his hate-quarters at 206 Carlton Street, Zundel has been churning out racist anti-semitic literature for the past decade. He is a major supplier of Nazi propaganda not only within North America but also in Germany, where he actually employs people to spread his anti-refugee, homophobic and anti-semitic gospel.

Court cases against Zundel have failed to put an end to his work, and the state is biding its time in laying new charges against him. We timed the demonstration to coincide with two court cases against local neo-nazis (charged with hate crimes). We were determined to make the point that while a young woman (who has now left the Heritage Front and is testifying against them) went to court on hate-literature charges, in a case designed to get as much information about anti-racists as racists, the "big fish" on Carlton Street remained untouched.

Cop Attack on November 24

We have always expected in confronting nazis we would eventually be confronting police and the courts. In January of this year, an ARA demonstration was attacked by mounted police, who provided cover for a (pretty pathetic) fascist march into the courthouse at University and Dundas. At the June 11 action against Gary Schipper, we outsmarted the cops who were "sadly" outnumbered by the time we reached our destination.

On November 24 police were hyper-mobilized, defending Zundel's bunker from the 125 protestors with upwards of 300 officers on foot, undercover, and in full riot gear. They tried to provoke demonstrators by posing as Nazis in the crowd, and when that ploy failed, they just moved in and started grabbing and assaulting people randomly. To the media they displayed eggshells and fish-heads found at the scene to back up their claim that we were "violent". At no time did demonstrators try to push against police lines: we might be dedicated but we're not suicidal. Overall, the arrests were just a fairly brutal form of crowd control.

Charges laid against protestors ranged from "breach of the peace" (against an organizer just to get him off the megaphone and out of the demo), to "weapons dangerous" ("to wit: an egg" reads the prosecutor with a chuckle), to the old standby "assault police". *We are demanding an end to the political use of the assault police charge — which just obscures the fact that in most cases it is cops who do the assaulting.*

We found it interesting that Zundel's own security was absent, in contrast to June 11 when fifty-odd boneheads with baseball bats were waiting for us in Allen Gardens. It was clear on November 24 that arrests were going to be made no matter what happened. The arrests themselves had a surreal, staged quality, carried out in Zundel's view, like maybe the cops get a bonus for that. What passes for humour at the cop shop left us pretty chilled: many joked about going up to Ernst's for bratwurst and beer after getting through with us, and chanted "Cops and Klan go Hand in Hand" in mockery. Their racist remarks about those they had arrested and others, and the fact that people of colour were disproportionately targeted for arrest at the demo, further illustrates the white supremacist police culture/politics. Can you imagine a person of colour, a native person, a homeless person, a gay or lesbian person, getting the kind of police protection for which Metro spent an estimated \$200,000, all for Ernst Zundel?

Zundel's gotta go

The police response to this demonstration also gives us all some idea of how far the Canadian state will go to defend Zundel. We are going to have to come up with new strategies to deal with him, to disrupt his work and make his life less comfortable here in Toronto. Times are changing for Ernst Zundel: the media no longer refers to him as a Toronto "publisher". This time, he was more accurately identified as a white supremacist and Holocaust-denier. The media also didn't fall for his customary pose as a "victim of censorship".

We can build on this small but significant step towards isolating and shutting down this Nazi — he lives right here in our backyard and it's our job to get him out! We hope to engage in further dialogue and joint action with community and political groups in the coming months with that goal in mind.

What you can do

We would appreciate letters of support (Anti-Racist Action, P.O. Box 664, Stn. C, Toronto M6J 3S1, or call our infoline (416) 631-8835) and letters to the Police Services Board condemning the brutality anti-racists faced from police on Nov. 24. We would also like to ask for your support in the form of donations to the Anti-Racist Action Legal Defense Fund. Cheques can be sent to Bread & Roses Credit Union, Acct. #4230, 348 Danforth Avenue, Ste. #211, Toronto M4K 1N8.

ANTI-RACIST ACTION

**P.O. Box 664, Stn. C
Toronto, Ont. M6J 3S1
(416) 631-8835**

ERNST ZUNDEL — Nazi at 206 Carlton Street

What makes him so dangerous?

Ernst Zundel is a prominent figure in the growing international neo-Nazi movement. From his home and distribution centre at 206 Carlton Street here in Toronto, Zundel runs Samisdat Publishers, one of the world's largest neo-Nazi propaganda operations. His materials are particularly important to fascists in Germany, where it is harder to come by illegal Nazi publications. According to German authorities, the bulk of material seized in raids on Nazi hideouts has come from Canada.

Zundel produces radio shows which are broadcast on two shortwave stations and eight American AM stations. He also produces a television show here which is beamed from the U.S. and is available to anyone with a satellite dish in North America.

But Zundel provides more than hate propaganda to his comrades in North America, Europe and elsewhere. He is a fascist organizer and financier, a self-described "guru" to the far-right. In Toronto, he maintains personal, political and financial ties with the notorious Heritage Front, the paramilitary Church of the Creator, and with street skinhead groups like the recently established Northern Hammerskins. Preferring the image of respectable publisher, he denies his links to these violent hate groups, but the overlaps are there to discover.

For example, the director of Samisdat Publishers' video wing, Jurgen Neumann, is also the Heritage Front videographer. An ex-Heritage Front member has testified that Zundel paid for her trip to New York last year to attend a Nazi conference and appear on a talk show; she also reports that Zundel regularly employs skinhead youth to do security and other odd jobs. Certainly many Front members, old and young, were involved in defending Zundel's bunker at recent demonstrations. More generally, Zundel contributes to the local white racist "scene" by hosting Hitler's Birthday parties at 206 Carlton (!!), and providing a safe house and meeting place for both local and visiting white supremacists.

In Germany, Zundel's associates are among the "worst of the worst" of the neo-nazis. Christian Worch, for example, directed the riot and firebombing at the refugee centre of Rostock, August 1992. Zundel supports and directs Worch and the Munich-based skinhead youth leader Bela Ewald Althans, funneling over \$600,000 (Can) in addition to propaganda materials, to German Nazis every year. At least 59 people, so-called "enemies of the white race," had been murdered by neo-Nazis as of November 93. Zundel's hands are stained with their blood.

Who has opposed Zundel and how?

Throughout the 80s, the Jewish community in Toronto led an extensive campaign, primarily through the court system, against Zundel's distribution of materials denying the Holocaust. The trials were painful and ultimately fruitless: Holocaust survivors took the stand to recount their experi-

ences, only to be called liars by Zundel's lawyer Doug Christie. The Holocaust itself, it seemed, was on trial. The liberal community was sidetracked into discussing "freedom of speech" as neo-Nazi movements expanded all over Europe. After a decade of Zundel's "court theatre" on the international stage, the Supreme Court dismissed all charges against him in August 1992.

In 1993 the Jewish Student Network presented a 30,000 signature petition to the Ontario Government, asking that Zundel be charged under new provincial hate-crimes legislation. The Ontario government has still not moved on that request. Last November, Anti-Racist Action demonstrated outside Zundel's bunker on Carlton Street. A virtual army of riot police met the crowd with a brutal attack and arrested several activists and supporters.

What can be done now?

Throughout the 1980s, we watched the legal cases against Zundel progress through the court system, and in November 92 we watched the charges against him finally dismissed. That court action all but stifled any hope of stopping Zundel's work and he has continued his hatemongering, Holocaust-denial and far-right organizing practically unhindered since then. Our frustration has grown as we have watched his operation go all but unchallenged, while in Germany, attacks on people of colour, Jews, gays and lesbians, refugees, people with disabilities, and the Roma and Sinti ("gypsies") have risen.

Zundel's propaganda is critical to neo-Nazis all over the world but especially in Germany, in part because he is not subject to the relatively strict German laws against producing hate literature. When German police raid neo-Nazi hideouts, they invariably find this literature and other material supplied by Ernst Zundel. The German government claims to be unable to stop the flow of hate literature, asking that Canada stop it at the source. *Canada is literally providing this Nazi with a refuge and base from which to support the worldwide fascist movement!*

What can be done? While many people support legal action against Zundel, some have little patience for the inaction of the Canadian government and court system's inability to identify Zundel's work for what it is — an incitement to fascist violence. Street demonstrations are also necessary to draw attention, but there is a risk of violence and criminalization. We feel that concerted community-based pressure against Zundel would complement these different efforts. As community members we have a right and obligation to draw the line against white supremacist, anti-semitic and homophobic organizing happening right here in our neighbourhood! It's time to stop taking Zundel for granted.

If we don't organize to stop the flow of Nazi hate propaganda out of 206 Carlton, who will?

BY MARGARET EVANS
SPECIAL TO THE GLOBE AND MAIL
BRUSSELS

AFTER years of uncertainty, German parliamentarians yesterday passed a law making it illegal to deny the murder of more than six million Jews by the Nazis. Although old laws have been used against dissemination of the so-called "Auschwitz Lie," ambiguities over interpretation have clouded the issue.

The new law is being hailed as an important step in deterring such Holocaust deniers as Ernst Zundel of Canada and Fred Leuchter, an American who in 1988 published a report claiming no gas chambers had operated at Auschwitz in Poland. Says Frankfurt lawyer Michael Friedman, a board member of the Jewish Communities of Germany: "The law has two functions: one to strengthen an old law, making it much more difficult to continue openly saying these things. [And] it has an educational input. It is necessary in a democratic country to know that the denying of Auschwitz offends the spirit of the state and the society."

A case involving Mr. Leuchter was pivotal in the passage of the new law. During a trip to Germany in November, 1991, he denied the Holocaust in front of neo-Nazi groups. The man who invited him to Germany and acted as his interpreter, Gunter Deckert, head of the far-right National Democratic Party, was subsequently convicted of inciting racial hatred and sentenced to one year in prison.

In March, a federal appeals court overturned the sentence, ruling Mr. Deckert couldn't be convicted of inciting racial hatred merely for stating the Holocaust hadn't happened. Then last month, the Supreme Court ruled that the Auschwitz Lie should not be protected by free-speech laws. It is these contradictory decisions that prompted the justice department to propose the new law. Put simply, in the past the emphasis was placed on proving that the denier was trying to incite racial hatred;

ANTI-ZUNDEL

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Germans put a gag on the Auschwitz Lie

PARLIAMENTARIANS
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now, a denial itself constitutes racial hatred and an attack on human dignity. "This will essentially make it much easier for the courts to convict people who say these things," says Klaus Meyer, a justice department spokesman.

The debate, of course, is achingly familiar in Canada. German-born Zundel's conviction for disseminating false news about the Holocaust was struck down by the Supreme Court of Canada in August, 1992, which ruled it violated his right to free speech.

Mr. Zundel, who lives in Toronto, is well known in Europe, where he manages to pocket a bit of money by hawking pamphlets with such titles as "Did Six Million Really Die?" to extremist groups.

Some Germans fear the new law will encourage people like Mr. Zundel to step up efforts to export their ideas. Officials at the German Institute for the Protection of the Constitution in Kölle say Mr. Zundel sees himself as a leader who would like to unify the German neo-Nazi scene. Says one: "His activities are certainly not hampered by Canadian law."

In Belgium, Mr. Zundel's work is published by a pair of brothers based in Antwerp — home to some of Belgium's most racist parties — under the banner of the Free Historical Research Group. They have recently expanded their operations to Holland, where they have been greeted with widespread condemnation.

High-profile Holocaust deniers, aside from Mr. Zundel and Mr. Leuchter, include Thies Christopher, a German who lives in Denmark, and Max Wahr, who operates out of his native Switzerland. Denial literature has many routes into Europe. It often comes simply by post, then is distributed by extremist networks.

Mr. Zundel beams his radio program to Germany via short-wave radio. "The structure of distribution is not a problem," says Dr. Friedman. "There are always enough people willing to take that stuff. I think it is a scandal that in Canada it is possible to be involved in this anti-human, neo-Nazi spirit without any risk of punishment." He says the new German law is a highly symbolic move in the "democratic Germany that was established under the condition that it would accept responsibility for the history of the Third Reich and the Holocaust."

There is some evidence the German decision could have an impact on neighbouring countries. There are no laws regarding hate literature or Holocaust denial in Belgium or Holland. But there are stirrings of concern. In Holland, the first sentence of the Constitution, which states that all people are equal, is increasingly used as the basis for court challenges against those spreading hatred or falsehoods. Last month, a member of the right-wing Centrum Democrat party who said foreigners should be thrown out of Holland was successfully prosecuted. In Belgium, a parliamentary debate is under way about whether a law similar to Germany's should be passed.

Margaret Evans is a Canadian writer based in Brussels.

Suggested Reading List On Fascism, Holocaust Revisionism And White Supremacist And Neo-Nazi Movements

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April 12th, 1991

To the people of Toronto

We are active in the movement against the growth of fascist activity and racism here in Germany. We have seen what enormous damage the deniers of the Nazi holocaust can do, for as they promote the revision of history; they are surely helping to now bring about what they claim did not happen before. The neo-Nazi propaganda and organizing machine, although it has been illegal under German laws for many years, is a lucrative underground business with increasing profit margins. Shipments of neo-Nazi videos, books, pamphlets, stickers, posters and magazines - all illegal to print, mail or distribute in Germany - come in massive amounts into the country and onto the streets.

The Canadian city of Toronto harbours one of the largest known sources of this material. Ernst Zündel, author, printer, publisher of numerous videos and books etc. is known throughout Germany as one of the outspoken activists of today's international neo-Nazi movement.

And indeed his support for the fascist movement does not only consist in form of propaganda. He is also known to bankroll organizations and build a "Zündelite" following. One of his cronies is well-known neo-Nazi organizer and holocaust denier Ewald Bela Althans from Munich. Althans frequently travels to Toronto in order to receive instructions from Zündel and to strengthen Zündels international communication as well as to establish closer contacts between the North American and European neo-fascist movement. Zündel has also undertaken an intensive fundraising campaign among the German-Canadian community for sponsoring the establishment of fascist centers and infrastructure among the so-called German minorities in Eastern European countries such as Poland and the Soviet Union by German neo-Nazis.

Both the German and the Canadian government do nothing to prevent Zündel's activities and blame each other for the problem. In the meantime it is business as usual for the Nazis. There may have not been much in the Canadian media about the Nazi violence in Germany lately, because it simply is no longer news. It has become part of daily life.

Many of us have gotten involved in antifascist organizing for a number of reasons: Out of a historic responsibility, out of a commitment to social justice and the idea that we have to tackle mainstream racism as well as neo-Nazi organizing. We see that the longer a society waits to deal with fascism and racism, the larger it gets. We also understand that Canada has begun to see a rise in hate crimes, anti-Semitic activities and fascist organizing. We are happy to hear of the existence of the Toronto-based Campaign to Stop Zündel. It is through such local initiatives that the real work of defeating fascism takes place. We believe in the power and strength of international solidarity as a hope and a real force in the struggle against fascism.

Yours in solidarity

Antifascist Regional Committee, Berlin - Brandenburg

Villa Eckertstein, Strausberg

Babylonia e.V., Berlin

Papiertiger, Berlin

Bandito Rosso, Berlin

Infoshop Bambule, Berlin

Antifascists from Potsdam

Antiracist Initiative e.V., Berlin